

INDIA

IN

1927-28.

A statement prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act (5 & 6 Geo. V. Chap. 61)



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1931



Price Rs. 2-4.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The task of preparing this report for presentation to Parliament has been entrusted by the Government of India to Mr. J. Coatman, and it is now presented under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India; but it must not be understood that the approval either of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India extends to every particular expression of opinion.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

APPENDIX I.

APPENDIX II.

APPENDIX III.

APPENDIX IV.

EXPLANATION.

The rupee is worth 1 shilling and six pence gold, its fluctuations being confined between the upper and lower gold points corresponding to that ratio. One lakh (100,000) of rupees is worth £7,500 and one crore (ten millions) is worth £750,000 at the present rate of exchange.

List of Photographs.

Maps.

Diagrams and Statistics.

CHAPTER I.

The Year 1927-28.

CHAPTER II.

Politics during the year.

Politics during the year—*contd.*

CHAPTER III.

Country and Town.

CHAPTER IV.

State and People.

State and People—*contd.*

CHAPTER V.

Communications.

CHAPTER VI.

Trade and Commerce.

Trade and Commerce—*contd.*

CHAPTER VII.

Finance.

Finance—contd.

CHAPTER VIII.

External Relations, Military, Aerial and Naval Affairs.

External Relations, Military, Aerial and Naval Affairs—*contd.*

CHAPTER IX.

The Provinces.

(*i*) Law and Order.

CHAPTER X.

The Provinces.

(*ii*) The Transferred Departments.

The Provinces—*contd.*



H. E. LORD IRWIN,
Viceroy and Governor General.

INDIA IN 1927-28.

CHAPTER I.

The Year 1927-28.

The year 1927-28 will always stand out boldly in the history of India, for on November the 8th, 1927, the appointment of the long expected Statutory Commission for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the present system of Government as well as certain subjects cognate thereto was announced in Parliament, and simultaneously by His Excellency Lord Irwin in India. This is easily the most important event in the public life of India during the year, and since the beginning of November it has overshadowed everything else.



On April 1st, 1927, as on the corresponding day of the previous year, any discussion or consideration of Indian public affairs speedily reached and confined itself perforce to the all-absorbing theme of Hindu-Muhammadan relations. For, at the beginning of our period, the storm of inter-communal antagonism, so far from showing any signs of slackening after the excesses of the previous year, was blowing with apparently increasing fury, and no other voices could make themselves heard against the clamour of the rival partisans. The Congress Party's demand for a Round Table Conference between representatives of Britain and India, and even the more moderate demand for the expediting of the appointment of the Statutory Commission had, to all appearance, been laid aside for the present. It is true that the publication of the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee—with which we shall deal at some length later in this report—on April 1st was an event of first class political importance, and one which could not fail to produce a deep impress upon the future history of the Indian Army and the Indian peoples. It is also true that echoes of the great rupee stabilisation controversy—about which so much was said in last year's Report—were still to be heard and that another big clash in the economic sphere between

the Indian Government and certain of its opponents in currency and financial affairs was about to be staged in connection with the main recommendation of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, namely, the creation of a Reserve Bank for India. These things, to be sure, engaged much attention from politicians and students of public affairs but the people of India knew and cared nothing about them. Most observers, however acute, looking forward from the standpoint of April 1st, 1927, would have said that the next twelve months would be empty of interest, as far as high politics were concerned, and that they would continue so until a firm and lasting truce were called in the fratricidal strife between India's two great communities which was distracting and destroying her public life. Any such anticipations, as we now know, would have been falsified.

A number of causes had contributed to this result. In the first place there can be little doubt that the long succession of bloody clashes between the mobs of the two communities had begun to stir the consciences and open the eyes of the more respectable and responsible men on both sides to the deep and disgraceful injury which was being done to the national cause. Again, Lord Irwin's speech at the Chelmsford Club banquet in Simla, in July, 1926, and the speech with which he inaugurated the Simla session of the Indian Legislature in August, 1927, both evoked widespread and genuine response throughout India, and greatly strengthened the hands of all who really wished to bring the ruinous inter-communal hostilities to an end. His Excellency's speech to the Indian Legislature is especially noteworthy both by reason of its contents and the response which it evoked. To this subject we shall return very soon. Another contributory cause of the cessation of Hindu-Muhammadan rioting is to be found in the blow struck at inflammatory writing in the press by a judgment of the Punjab High Court in a case arising out of the publication of a scurrilous pamphlet against the Founder of Islam. As a result of the dire effects produced by wanton instigation of inter-communal hatred by the Press, the Government of India undertook certain legislation during the autumn session of the Indian Legislature in 1927, and this also as well as the Punjab High Court judgment will be discussed in due course. Lastly, the announcement of November the 8th proved a very powerful counter-attraction to the inter-communal troubles, engrossing as it did the full attention of political leaders and the

press. Moreover, as it related to no less a subject than the whole future Government of India, it included the matters in issue between the two great communities as one of the elements of the great problem with which it would have to deal. In fact, the question of India's political status and of the pace and manner of her approach to self-government became once more the prime topic of interest and discussion. We have seen in earlier reports that Hindu-Muslim riots, though usually started by incidents in connection with the religious rites and celebrations of the two communities, are symptoms of certain fundamental disagreements between them, and thus it was only natural that the announcement of the beginning of an enquiry which should comprise the basic causes of these disagreements within its scope should divert attention to itself away from the riots which were merely the results of the aforesaid causes.

The feeling aroused by the Statutory Commission affected a wider field than that of Hindu-Muslim relations and invested all subjects of public importance with a high political significance whether this quality was properly inherent in them or not. Both the Reserve Bank Bill and the Indian Navy Discipline Bill foundered in the Statutory Commission tempest, although the first of these measures represented an appreciable advance towards self-government in one of its most important functions, whilst the second was a step in the process of achieving the most vital and uncompromising of all the conditions of national autonomy, namely, the creation of an adequate and efficient instrument of national self-defence. In the next chapter we shall go more deeply into the phenomena of the reaction to the Statutory Commission and into their underlying causes. Here it is enough to say that the announcement of November 8th was a very strong force working to change the outward aspect of public life in India.



After the formation of the Statutory Commission the event which engrossed public attention more fully than anything else was the publication of Miss Katherine Mayo's book "Mother India" in the early summer of 1927. The main reason for the extraordinary effect produced by the book is its treatment of the subject of child marriage among Hindus, and certain other topics. Practically every newspaper in India denounced the book as a scurrilous libel on Hindus and Hinduism and it was freely alleged that Miss Mayo

had been subsidised to produce it in order to degrade India in the eyes of the world, and to prejudice her case for self-government when the Statutory Enquiry ordered by Section 84-A of the Government of India Act came to be held. For months a violent agitation against the book was kept up in the Indian press and on public platforms in this country, and the controversy has extended to a great part of the civilised world. During the Autumn Session of 1927 the Government spokesman in the Legislative Assembly—in this case the Home Member—was subjected to a rain of questions, in answer to which he was able to show that the Government of India and India Office had absolutely no connection with the production of the book and had extended to the writer no greater facilities than are usually extended to students of social, economic, political and other subjects, whether Indians or foreigners, who can present satisfactory credentials.

On the whole the year now being passed under review was a fortunate one for India. The monsoon was good for the fifth year in succession, although here and there its too generous downfall brought in its wake floods which occasioned much loss and distress in the localities affected. A share in the general improvement in economic conditions which marked the year 1927 for most countries was not denied to India where conditions improved appreciably after the first few months of the year. The amount of goods traffic passing over its railways is always a good index to the economic condition of a country, and, judged by this test, the year 1927-28 was a distinctly satisfactory one for India in matters economic. All the principal railways show substantial increases in traffic earnings, with the single exception of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, and even there the receipts for the first ten months of the year were almost identical with those of the previous year. At the end of February, 1928, it was estimated by the Railway Board that traffic earnings for the year ending March 31st, 1928, would show an increase over those for the year ending March 31st, 1927, of no less than 4½ crores of rupees. Of this amount, goods earnings were expected to be 3 crores, and it is a satisfactory feature of the goods traffic that this increase was not confined to any one class of commodity, but, with the exception of cotton only, has extended to almost all. Up to the 21st January, 1928, 230,000 more wagons had

been loaded on the broad gauge, and 90,000 on the metre gauge, than during the same period of the preceding year. General trade figures support the Railway Statistics in indicating a reasonably healthy condition of the Indian body economic. The visible balance of trade including private imports of treasure for the ten months ended 31st January, 1928, was in favour of India by 37·2 crores as compared with 27·05 crores a year before. Both imports and exports of merchandise increased during the year under review by 8 per cent. and improvement has been increasingly marked during the latter months of the year 1927. A further sign of the inherent soundness of India's trade position is found in the circumstance that practically all the principal articles of import and export contribute to the increase. While more stable world conditions are, of course, partly responsible for these results, the beneficial effects of the stabilization of the rupee, as described in last year's report, should not be overlooked. There are good reasons for hoping that this improvement in the economic conditions of India will continue and that the effects of the post-war depression will become increasingly weaker. It is true that one of India's staple industries, the Bombay Cotton Industry, remained in a depressed condition throughout the year, and must therefore be excepted from the above remarks. In a later chapter we shall study the fortunes of the Cotton Industry in this country in some detail.

We said, a little while ago, that the monsoon of 1927 was on the whole a good one. It was not, however, equally distributed all over the country. This, of course, was only to be expected, since the vast size of India makes homogeneity of climatic conditions impossible. There are favoured regions which can always be sure of a good annual rainfall, whilst there are stricken areas which languish under the blight of perennial drought. In other localities the Rain God is capricious and distributes his bounty sometimes with too sparing and sometimes with too generous a hand, and it is hard to say which of these two forms of caprice is the more unwelcome, since each is adverse to the welfare of the crops and the people who grow them. Fortunately no calamitous famine is to be recorded this year. Indeed, the vast extension of irrigation which has taken place during the past few decades and the immense development of railways and roads during the same period has made any repetition of the historic famines of the past a virtual impossibility. Scarcity or distress due to failure of crops over areas more or less

extensive, can and does occur yearly in some locality or other, but these misfortunes, grievous though they are, to those who are submitted to them, do not affect such wide territories and large populations, nor do they produce the same catastrophic results as those dire calamities of the past to which the word famine is applied. In addition to irrigation works and vastly increased means of communication, a further insurance against the effects of possible famines is provided by the statutory obligation under which every Provincial Government is placed, to maintain a famine relief fund from which to meet expenses incurred in this respect. But although there was no famine during the period under review, there was some scarcity and distress. These two words, it should be noted, are used in a particular sense in Indian official reports. Distress is a milder term than scarcity and is applied to the conditions of a particular locality consequent on the failure or the undue abundance of the rainfall there. In such conditions the local officers may or may not find it necessary to take exceptional measures to relieve the distress. But if the distress is widespread, then a state of scarcity is declared which normally makes some Government action in relief of the sufferers necessary. As a rule this action takes the form of generous advances of "taccavi", that is, Government loans to agriculturists on generous terms both as regards interest and repayment. These advances are a much more desirable form of relief than the opening of relief works, for they enable the agriculturists to tide over until they can restore their own fortunes. In consequence of the failure of crops, dearth of water, and shortage of fodder and pasture, scarcity prevailed in parts of the Guntur, Bellary, and Anantapur districts in the Madras Presidency at the beginning of 1927. The classes most affected by the unfavourable conditions were the agricultural labourers and small farmers. In order to render assistance and to provide work for unskilled labourers in the affected areas, the Madras Government issued orders for the expansion of the local funds works programmes with the aid of grants from provincial funds and for the starting of as many minor irrigation works as practicable. Steps were also taken by various railway administrations to begin the construction of a local railway line in the Guntur district. District officers were empowered to order the remission of land revenue due on irrigated land on which the crop had totally failed, and the collection of land revenue was postponed in a number of villages. As a further measure, loans

under the Land Improvement Loans Act and the Agriculturists Loans Act were granted on a liberal scale to agriculturists in the affected areas. Concession rates for transport by rail of fodder to railway stations in a part of the Guntur district were also sanctioned by the Provincial Government to meet a shortage of fodder there.

In Berar in the Central Provinces, the monsoon of 1926-27 was unfavourable; it was unevenly distributed and yielded excessive rains in July and August in certain parts of the Yeotmal, Akola and Buldana districts, while the October rain was absent almost everywhere. As a result the autumn harvest was below normal throughout Berar, and cotton was injuriously affected in areas of abnormally heavy rainfall. The ordinary programme of the Public Works Department was expanded to provide extra employment in certain places, and scarcity had to be declared in the Yeotmal district on 30th March, 1927. With a view to affording relief generally, the Provincial Government increased the scale of relief by a liberal suspension of revenue for 1926-27. Suspensions on account of the kharif or autumn harvest in 1926-27 amounted to Rs. 4,92,297, and the collection of a sum of Rs. 4,76,247 out of the amounts suspended in the previous year was further postponed. Various other kinds of relief were also afforded. Good monsoon rains, however, fell throughout Berar during the latter half of June, 1927, and all relief operations were suspended at the end of that month.

In distant Baluchistan, where natural conditions are such as to make agriculture at all times a difficult and hazardous operation, a plague of locusts did much damage during the year to the standing spring crop and the Government of India sanctioned a grant of Rs. 75,000 to relieve the distress occasioned thereby.

Lastly a state of scarcity has been prevailing in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Nadia, Malda, Murshidabad and Dinajpore in Bengal since the beginning of January, 1928, and test relief works have been opened in the last-mentioned five districts.



But if nature is curbed in one place, she is apt to break out in another. Her great water-ways may be bitted and bridled by dams and canal headworks and harnessed to the service of mankind by great systems of irrigation canals, but every now and then she takes the bit between her teeth and her trainer must perforce allow her to have her fling. The Mississippi floods of the summer of 1927 re-

minded the whole world that the human race, for all its progress in the acquisition of knowledge of the laws of nature, and for all its control over so many of the instruments of science, is still the plaything of elemental forces, and here in India we have often good cause to remember this great truth. Hardly a year goes by unmarred by some flood more or less serious, and the damage caused by more than one of the historic Indian floods of the past can challenge comparison with that of the great American disaster above mentioned. But, quite apart from the havoc which they occasion in times of excessive flood, Indian rivers year by year do an immense amount of damage by erosion. The main stream of a river like the Indus, for example, may set in year after year towards the left bank. Then, for no apparent reason, it will set in towards the right bank, and in doing so will engulf whole villages with their lands and houses, and sometimes important towns. Unfortunately the year under review witnessed one or two severe floods. Owing to heavy rainfall in the last week of July disastrous floods devastated the districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals in Gujrat in the Bombay Presidency, and also the Hyderabad and Thar Parkar districts in Sind. Gratuitous relief and *taccavi* advances were granted freely by the Provincial Government, and generous private charity was also forthcoming. Further, a grant of Rupees 3 lakhs was made by the Indian People's Famine Trust.

In Orissa an unusually high flood in the Baitarani River and its tributaries occurred in the last few days of July, damaging 700 square miles in the Balasore district. Less than three weeks later a second flood in the same river system spread again over this area, and the crops which were beginning to recover from the first flood were again inundated and spoilt throughout most of the localities affected. The special feature of this flood which distinguished it from other floods in recent years, was the extensive destruction of houses. More than 2,600 were destroyed while over 50,000 more collapsed. The distress caused by these floods was very severe, particularly as 260 out of the total area of 700 square miles affected were thus inundated for the third year in succession. The Provincial Government provided relief in the form of loans to cultivators and the reconstruction of buildings, and a grant of a lakh of rupees was made from the Indian People's Famine Trust.

In Bengal, in August, floods damaged crops over an area of more than one hundred square miles in one sub-division of the Midna-

pore district. Agricultural loans were sanctioned by the Bengal Government to relieve the distress.

A portion of a village in Sylhet district in Assam was washed away by a local flood on the 5th September. Three lives were lost and a large number of cattle were drowned. Crops in the neighbourhood were damaged. Floods also occurred in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province and caused damage in a few districts.



Turning now from the vagaries of the elements to those of human kind, it is particularly pleasing to be able to report a lull during the second half of the period under review in Hindu-Muhammadan rioting.

In last year's report a grim and lengthy catalogue of inter-communal clashes was presented, and during the six months immediately following the period to which that report referred, the number and frequency of riots and the increasing bitterness and tension in the relations between the two communities gave serious grounds for the belief that they were the heralds of an approaching crisis. Between the beginning of April and the end of September, 1927, no fewer than 25 riots were reported. Of these 10 occured in the United Provinces, six in the Bombay Presidency, 2 each in the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa, and one in Delhi. The majority of these riots occurred during the celebration of a religious festival by one or other of the two communities, whilst some arose out of the playing of music by Hindus in the neighbourhood of mosques or out of the slaughter of cows by Muhammadans. The total casualties resulting from the above disorders were approximately 103 persons killed and 1,084 wounded.

By far the most serious riot reported during the year was that which took place in Lahore between the 3rd and 7th of May, 1927. Tension between the two communities had been acute for some time before the outbreak, and the trouble when it came was precipitated by a chance collision between a Muhammadan and two Sikhs. The disorder spread with lightning speed and the heavy casualty list—27 killed and 272 injured—was largely swollen by unorganised attacks on individuals. Police and troops were rushed to the scene of rioting and quickly made it impossible for classes on a big scale to take place between hostile groups. Casual assassinations and

assaults were reported, however, for two or three days longer before the streets and lanes of Lahore became safe for solitary passersby.

Following this affair there was a lull of two months in inter-communal rioting, if we except a minor incident which happened about the middle of June, in Bihar and Orissa, but July witnessed no fewer than eight riots of which the most serious occurred in Multan in the Punjab, on the occasion of the annual Muharram celebrations. Thirteen killed and twenty-four wounded was the toll taken by this riot. But August was to see worse rioting still. In that month nine riots occurred, two of them resulting in heavy loss of life. In a riot in Bettiah town in Bihar and Orissa, arising out of a dispute over a religious procession, eleven persons were killed and over a hundred injured, whilst the passage of a procession in front of a mosque in Bareilly in the United Provinces was the occasion of rioting in which fourteen persons were killed and one hundred and sixty-five were injured. Fortunately this proved to be the turning point in inter-communal trouble during the year, and September witnessed only four riots. One of these, however, the riot in Nagpur in the Central Provinces on September 4th, was second only to the Lahore riot in seriousness and in the damage which it occasioned. The spark which started the fire was trouble in connection with a Muhammadan procession, but the materials for the combustion had been collecting for some time. Nineteen persons were killed and 123 injured were admitted to hospital as a result of this riot, during the course of which many members of the Muhammadan community abandoned their homes in Nagpur.

A feature of Hindu-Muhammadan relations during the year which was hardly less serious than the riots was the number of murderous outrages committed by members of one community against persons belonging to the other. Some of the most serious of these outrages were perpetrated in connection with the *Rangila Rasul* agitation, to which we shall turn in a moment, and as a result of them, a number of innocent persons lost their lives, sometimes in circumstances of great barbarity. In Lahore a series of outrages against individuals led to a state of great excitement and insecurity at one time during the summer of 1927, but prompt and firm action by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie, quickly restored the situation.

In last year's report an attempt was made to explain the causes which underlay these terrible affairs, which, by the time we are

now speaking of, the autumn, that is, of 1927, had become so very frequent and destructive, and it was shewn that although the immediate causes were mostly found in disputes over communal processions or in the playing of music near a mosque or the sacrifice or slaughter of cows by Muhammadans, these were often no more than symptoms of a deep seated trouble which originated in fundamental differences in political aspirations. The prevalence of Hindu-Muhammadan rioting depends on a state of mind more or less general among the members of each community, on a point of view, which, in each case, is the product of centuries of history and is continually influenced by current events, rumours, fears, hopes, and all the other imponderables which go to form public opinion and direct its manifestations in action. The slaughter of a cow, the beating of a drum, the reception of a convert into one fold or the other—all these may act as the sparks which fire the powder and produce the explosion. The same causes of inter-communal antagonism were at work during the period under review, but their action was strengthened during the summer of 1927 by a new particular cause. This was the agitation over the now notorious *Rangila Rasul* case.

About three years ago, a Hindu in the Punjab published a pamphlet called *Rangila Rasul.* These two words mean "The Gay Prophet" and the pamphlet was a scurrilous attack on the memory of the Prophet Muhammad. The Police were quickly instructed by the Punjab Government to prosecute the author under Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, the section, that is, which penalises any action committed with the intention of promoting or attempting to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. The case dragged on for nearly two years, but in January, 1927, the author of the pamphlet was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 18 months and to a fine of Rs. 1,000. The conviction was upheld by the Sessions Court, in which the first appeal lay, but the sentence of imprisonment was reduced to six months. When the matter went up to the High Court of the Punjab on revision, however, the Judge before whom it came decided that the section of the Penal Code on which the prosecution had relied was not meant or intended to prevent all adverse discussion of the life and character of a deceased religious leader. He accordingly accepted the revision and acquitted the petitioner. By this time the offending pamphlet had been given

very wide advertisement and a storm of protest against the judgment broke out among Muhammadans all over India—a storm which grew more violent when the editor and proprietor of a Muhammadan daily paper in Lahore commented on the High Court judgment in a manner which brought them within the reach of the law of Contempt of Court and caused them to be sent to prison. Also, within a few days of the pronouncement of the High Court judgment in the *Rangila Rasul* case, there appeared another scurrilous attack on the Prophet Muhammad in a monthly journal called "Risala Vartman" (Risala means pamphlet or small magazine) published at Amritsar in the Punjab. In this case, too, a prosecution was speedily ordered. In view of the very dangerous state of Hindu-Muslim relations, and also in order to settle what appeared to be a conflict between the interpretation of section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code given by the Judge of the Punjab High Court in the *Rangila Rasul* revision and the interpretation given by a Judge of the Allahabad High Court also sitting alone and dealing with the same section, the acting Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court decided to transfer the hearing of the Risala Vartman case from Amritsar, which, as the place of offence, would normally be the place of trial also, to a Division Bench of the High Court. The hearing of the case in the High Court ranged over a somewhat wide field since the accused, of whom there were two, were members of the Arya Samaj, which is a reforming and proselytising sect of Hinduism, and in their journal had stated that one of their objects was the promotion of *Shuddi* and *Sanghatan*, two movements directed respectively towards the reconversion of Hindus who had gone over to Islam or Christianity, or who were descended from such persons, and towards the general organisation of the Hindu community for its own advancement. For these reasons many Muhammadans believed that the offending article had the approval of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha. Mr. Justice Broadway, the officiating Chief Justice of the High Court, in reading the judgment of the Division Bench held that a scurrilous and foul attack on such a religious leader as the founder of Islam would *primâ facie* fall under section 153-A of the Penal Code and he sentenced one of the accused to rigorous imprisonment for one year and fine of Rs. 500, and the second to rigorous imprisonment of six months and payment of a fine of Rs. 250.

This judgment was delivered on 6th August, 1927, and its result provided another proof of the connection between inter-communal disorders and inflammatory writing in communal newspapers for it produced immediately an extraordinarily calming effect on Muhammadan opinion and made relations between the two communities far less tense and dangerous than they had been up to that time. Unfortunately, however, excitement over the *Rangila Rasul* case had by now travelled far from its original centre and by July had begun to produce unpleasant repercussions on and across the North-West Frontier. The first signs of trouble in this region became apparent early in June, and by the latter part of July the excitement had reached its height. On the British side of the border, firm and tactful handling of the situation by the local authorities averted any serious breach of the peace. Economic boycott of Hindus was freely advocated in the British frontier districts, especially in Peshawar, but this movement met with little success, and although Hindus were maltreated in one or two villages, the arrest of the culprits, together with appropriate action under the Criminal Law, quickly restored order. Across the border, however, the indignation aroused by these attacks on the Prophet gave rise to more serious consequences. The frontier tribesmen are acutely sensitive to the appeal of religion and when a well-known Mullah started to preach against the Hindus among the Afridis and Shinwaris in the neighbourhood of the Khyber Pass, his words fell on fruitful ground. He called upon the Afridis and Shinwari's to expel all Hindus living in their midst unless they declared in writing that they dissociated themselves from the doings of their co-religionists down country. The first to expel their Hindu neighbour were two clans of the Khyber Afridis, namely, the Kukikhel and Zakkakhel, on the 22nd of July. From these, the excitement spread among their Shinwari neighbours who gave their Hindu neighbours notice to quit a few days later. However, after the departure of some of the Hindus the Shinwaris agreed to allow the remainder to stay on. Some of the Hindus on leaving the Khyber were roughly handled. In two cases stones were thrown, though happily without any damage resulting. In a third affair a Hindu was wounded and a large amount of property carried off, but this was recovered by Afridi Khassadars in full, and the culprits were fined for the offence. Thereafter, arrangements were made for the picketing of the road for the passage of any Hindus evacuating

tribal territory. Under pressure from the Political Agent, an Afridi *jirga* decided towards the end of July to suspend the Hindu boycott pending a decision in the *Risala Vartman* case. In the following week, however, several Hindu families, who had been living at Landi Kotal at the head of the Khyber Pass moved to Peshawar, refusing to accept the assurances of the tribal chiefs but leaving one person from each family behind to watch over their interests. All told, between four hundred and four hundred and fifty Hindus, men, women and children, had come into Peshawar by the middle of August, when the trouble was definitely on the wane. Some of the Hindus were definitely expelled, some were induced to leave their homes by threats, some left from fear, some no doubt from sympathy with their neighbours. Expulsion and voluntary exodus from tribal territory were alike without parallel. Hindus had lived there for more generations than most of them could record as valued and respected, and, indeed, essential members of the tribal system, for whose protection the tribesmen had been jealous, and whose bloodfeuds they commonly made their own. Throughout the whole of this unfortunate business the frontier authorities worked strenuously to localise the trouble and to prevent violence and plunder. The success of their efforts is apparent from the fact that the trouble was confined to one small section of the country in the neighbourhood of the Khyber Pass, and the mediation of the British authorities, combined with the working of powerful traditional and economic forces, had by the end of the year peacefully restored a situation which at one time was full of dangerous possibilities. In all, about 450 Hindus left the Khyber during the excitement, of these about 330 had returned to their homes in tribal territory by the close of the year 1927. Most of the remainder had decided to settle, at any rate for the present, amid the more secure conditions of British India.

The *Rangila Rasul* and *Risala Vartman* cases had shewn the necessity for tightening up the Criminal Law so far as it related to scurrilous attacks on the religion or religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. The Government of India accordingly took up this matter during the Simla session of the Legislative Assembly, and on August 24th Mr. Crerar, the Home Member, introduced a Bill to amend the Criminal Law in this respect and on the 5th September moved that it be referred to a select committee. Before we consider the fortunes of this Bill, it may be

useful to state briefly the provisions of the existing Criminal Law in respect to offences relating to religion and show how the alterations proposed in the Bill would affect it.

There is a group of sections devoted to such offences in the Penal Code. One section deals with the destruction, damage, or defilement of a place of worship or a sacred object whilst others contemplate offences against particular persons or assemblies actually engaged in religious worship or ceremony. These provisions would, therefore, not be appropriate to contumelious speeches or writings against a religion or against religious sentiments. Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, the section which, as we have seen, was used in the *Rangila Rasul* and *Risala Vartman* cases again, is not free from difficulty. Its fundamental ingredient is the promotion of, or the attempt to promote, feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. Whenever scurrilous attack is made upon a religion this ingredient is, in fact, present, but if the attack was the substantive matter, the ingredient of promoting enmity and hatred would, in point of law, become extraneous. The Bill met this difficulty by making intentional insults to religion the substantive matter. Another difficulty arising out of section 153-A is that if a scandalous attack on the religion of one class were so framed as to make it difficult to hold that enmity and hatred were thereby promoted against another class, the application of the section would be doubtful. This difficulty would be removed by the Bill because under it it would be sufficient to establish an intention to insult the religion or outrage the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. In passing this legislation, however, as the Home Member was careful to point out, the legislature had to guard against imposing unnecessary and dangerous impediments on the free movement of thought and speech in legitimate enquiry and discussion. It was for this reason that great emphasis had been laid in the Bill on intention. There must be an intentional insult or attempt to insult or an intentional outrage or attempt to outrage. Another point in the Bill worthy of notice was that no prosecution could be undertaken without the authority of the Government under section 196 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Home Member thought that this was a necessary safeguard against frivolous, malicious or misguided prosecutions.

The new amending bill accordingly proposed to insert a new section in Chapter XV of the Indian Penal Code with the object of

making it a specific offence intentionally to insult or attempt to insult the religion, or outrage, or attempt to outrage, the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. Certain consequential amendments were also proposed in the Code of Criminal Procedure. The leaders of all the different parties in the Assembly supported the principle of the measure and congratulated the Government on having responded to the call of public opinion. Some members were afraid that the provisions of the bill were too wide, but it was in the end referred to a select committee without a division. However, these misgivings on the part of certain members of the Assembly found some response in the select committee, who modified the operative clause of the bill until it read as follows:—

> "Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, insults or attempts to insult religion or religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with a fine, or with both."

The discussion on the bill occupied the Assembly for the best part of two days. The general opinion of Hindu members was that the proposed amendment of the law was on the whole unnecessary, but that it might do something to placate public opinion and, therefore, it came within the category of a necessary evil. Muhammadan members, however, with the memories of the gross attacks contained in the *Rangila Rasul* and *Risala Vartman* pamphlets fresh in their minds naturally wanted to make the law as stringent as possible and one of them moved an amendment, which was carried, to make the offence contained in the bill non-bailable. In winding up the debate the Home Member appealed to the Assembly to regard the bill as not a sectarian measure but as a bill universal in application and attempting to remedy a distinct evil. The division resulted in 61 in favour of the bill and 26 against it.

The last six months of the year under review, that is, the period from the beginning of October, 1927, to the end of March, 1928, was, happily, almost entirely free from inter-communal rioting. Only eight riots took place with four deaths and about one hundred and sixty people injured. We have already discussed the causes of this salutary change and we may now complete our narrative of Hindu-Muhammadan affairs and politics during the year.

The discussion of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in the Assembly had been preceded by an event of prime importance to the situation arising out of inter-communal antagonism. This was His Excellency Lord Irwin's address to the Indian Legislature on August 29th, 1927. In the circumstances, it was almost inevitable that His Excellency should confine himself exclusively to a discussion of the communal situation. He began by reminding his hearers that a little more than a year previously he had invited India to pause and consider seriously the communal situation. He then passed on to a statement of the salient incidents of Indian recent history, " I am not exaggerating ", he said, " when I say that during the 17 months that I have been in India, the whole landscape has been overshadowed by the lowering clouds of communal tension, which have repeatedly discharged their thunderbolts, spreading far throughout the land their devastating havoc. From April to July last year, Calcutta seemed to be under the mastery of some evil spirit, which so gripped the minds of men that in their insanity they held themselves absolved from the most sacred restraints of human conduct. Since then we have seen the same sinister influences at work in Pabna, Rawalpindi, Lahore and many other places, and have been forced to look upon that abyss of unchained human passions that lies too often beneath the surface of habit and of law. In less than 18 months, so far as numbers are available, the toll taken by this bloody strife has been between 250 and 300 killed, and over 2,500 injured ". His Excellency showed what these figures meant when translated into terms of human sorrow, but even this, as he pointed out, did not amount to the full toll exacted from India by this fratricidal strife. Much in Indian social life still cried out for remedy and nowhere perhaps is the task before social reformers more laborious. " United must be the effort " His Excellency continued " if it is to gain success; and on the successful issue of such work depends the building of the Indian nation. Yet the would-be builders must approach their task sorely handicapped and with heavy heart, so long as the forces to which they would appeal are distracted and torn by present animosities. For nothing wholesome can flourish in unwholesome soil, and no one may hope to build a house to stand against the wind and the rain and the storm of life upon foundations that are rotten and unsound ".

His Excellency turned next to the effect of these troubles upon India's progress in the field of constitutional evolution and showed how true it was that national self-government must rest upon the self-government and self-control of individuals. "Where private citizens do not possess these qualities, political self-government of a nation is an empty name, and merely serves to disguise under an honourable title the continuance of something perilously akin to civil war."

After pointing out that Great Britain and India were partners both in the task of achieving self-government for India and in laying the spectre which beset the path to this goal Lord Irwin came to the most important part of his speech:—" ....I can not reconcile it," he said, "with my conception of a real and effective partnership in this matter between Great Britain and India to confine the responsibility, either of myself or my Government, to a mere repression of disorder. Necessary as that is, the situation, as I see it to-day, demands a more constructive effort". His Excellency reminded his hearers how a year earlier many leading men in the country had asked him to take the initiative in convening a conference to try to find some solution for these troubles, and how, for reasons which had then seemed convincing to him, he had thought it inadvisable to take that step. The passage of events since that time, however, and in particular the disappointment in the hopes which he had entertained that the two communities would themselves come together and find a cure for their troubles, had caused him constantly to review the grounds on which he had formed his previous judgment. "It was with real pleasure" His Excellency continued "that I observed statements recently in the press which indicated that fresh efforts might be made to bring together Hindus and Muslims for the discussion of these matters. Any such attempt deserves the active good-will and support of all who care for India's welfare and good name. I myself have long been considering anxiously whether any action by Government could help to stimulate that general desire of reconciliation without which nothing can be done. It is not easy, or perhaps possible, for me to give a positive or assured answer to these reflections. In matters of this kind, each man must search his own heart and answer for himself whether he does in truth and without reserve desire to play his part as an apostle of peace, and whether those associated with him are like-minded. But this I can say. If it were represented to me by

the responsible leaders of the great communities that they thought a useful purpose might be served by my convening a conference myself with the object of frankly facing the causes of these miserable differences, and then in a spirit of determined good-will considering whether any practical solution or mitigation of them could be found, I should welcome it as evidence of a firm resolve to leave no way unsearched that might disclose means of rescuing India from her present unhappy state. And, if these representations were made by those who occupy such a position in their communities as to permit me to assume that the communities would accept and abide by any decisions at which they might arrive on their behalf, then, allying myself with them and such other leaders of public thought as might be willing to assist, I should gladly and cordially throw my whole energies into this honourable quest".

It must be admitted that the immediate response made to Lord Irwin's offer was disappointing. That the offer made a powerful appeal to all thinking men of both communities who truly desired peace there can be no doubt, but certain of the leading members of the Legislative Assembly decided that they would make one more attempt to find for themselves a road to peace before the Viceroy's offer could be accepted. To this end, a well attended conference of Muslims and Hindus—both members of the Legislature and others—assembled in Simla at the beginning of September. Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah, a Muhammadan, and leader of the small Independent group in the Legislative Assembly, was elected Chairman of the Conference. From the beginning a profound difference of opinion between the Muslim and Hindu members of the Conference showed itself clearly. The Muslims insisted that until agreement had been reached between the two communities on political questions there could be no peace. The Hindus, however, urged that social and religious grievances ought to be discussed and decided in the first place. In the result the Conference confined its discussions to what is compendiously referred to as the "cow-music" question, that is, to the questions and grievances arising out of cow-slaughter by the Muslims, and the playing of music by the Hindus in the neighbourhood of Muslim places of worship. The real points at issue between the two communities, namely, their widely divergent views on such matters as joint versus communal electorates, the redistribution of provinces, and representation of the communities in the services, were not touched, for the reason

that, in the existing state of feeling, any discussion of these burning questions would have broken up the Conference in disorder. Even with the discussion restricted as mentioned above, it was found impossible to come to any general agreement and in the end the Conference dissolved, without having realised any of the hopes of its promoters.

The next body of persons to tackle the thorny problem was the All-India Congress Committee, the executive body, that is, of the All-India National Congress. On the 27th October, 1927, a Unity Conference convened under the auspices of the All-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta. Among the more prominent persons present were Messrs. Srinivasa Aiyangar, A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, T. Prakasam and T. C. Goswami of the Congress Party, the Ali Brothers, representing the old Khilafatists, Dr. Ansari, the President-elect of the All-India National Congress, Sir P. C. Ray, the Rev. C. F. Andrews, and Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who was then the Mayor of Calcutta. In opening the Conference, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar appealed for sympathy and support in the responsibility which the Congress Committee had taken upon itself. A discussion of the outstanding causes of inter-communal dispute was then initiated by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who defined the causes as conversion and re-conversion between the two communities, cow-slaughter, and playing of music in the neighbourhood of mosques. After a long discussion the Conference accepted a resolution permitting the conversion or re-conversion of persons by argument or persuasion but not by force, and prohibiting entirely the conversion of persons under the age of eighteen. There should be no secrecy about conversion or re-conversion and any complaints relating thereto should be enquired into by arbitrators appointed by the Congress Working Committee. The Conference then went on to deal with cow-slaughter and music near mosques, in connection with which Dr. Ansari made a long statement regarding various points which had been the subject of dispute both at the Simla Unity Conference and subsequent thereto. The Conference concluded its deliberations the next day, having arrived at an almost unanimous decision regarding cow-slaughter and music near mosques. The decision was embodied in the following resolution.

"Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community, but free profession and practice

of religion should, subject to public order and morality be guaranteed to every community and person, Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before mosques at any time for religious or social purposes, but there should be no stoppage nor special demonstration in front of the mosque nor shall songs or music played in front of such mosques be such as is calculated to cause annoyance, special disturbance, or offence to worshippers in the mosques. Mussalmans shall be at liberty to sacrifice or slaughter cows in exercise of their rights in any town or village in any place not being a thoroughfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus. Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter. Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow killing the Mussalman community is earnestly appealed to to so conduct cow sacrifice as not to cause any annoyance to Hindus of the town or village concerned."

The Conference also condemned certain recent murderous assaults and appealed to Hindu and Mussalman leaders to create an atmosphere of non-violence in the country and it empowered the All-India Congress Committee to appoint a committee in each province for propaganda work in connection with Hindu-Muslim unity.

It is clear from a reading of the above resolution that the Calcutta Unity Conference did not carry matters very much further, and in fact, that the resolution is no more than an appeal for each side to do nothing to offend the other. The deep, underlying, rival political aspirations of the two communities received no recognition, another fact which helped to deprive the resolution of the importance which it might have had, if these had been discussed and if the two strongest and most representative of the communal organisations in the country, namely, the Hindu Maha Sabha and the All-India Muslim League, had been represented at the Conference—a very big if. As things were, the question of Hindu-Muslim unity was left precisely where it had been before the Conference met.

Between the Calcutta Conference and the next notable attempt—to which we shall turn shortly—to solve this formidable problem, the annual meetings of three great All-India political bodies were held, and at each of these, much time was devoted to discussing the

question of Hindu-Muhammadan unity and embodying the results of the discussions in resolutions.

The All-India National Congress passed a comprehensive resolution covering most of the political and religious points in issue between the two communities. This resolution provided for joint electorates in the various legislative bodies, with reservation of seats on the basis of population, provided that each community made reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities so as to give them representation in excess of that proportion to which they would be entitled on a population basis. It recorded the agreement of the Congress to the grant of Reforms in the North West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan on condition that the judicial administration in these two provinces was brought abreast of that in other major provinces. It demanded immediate redistribution, on a linguistic basis, of those provinces where this change was desired and resolved that the process of redistribution should be begun by making Andhra, Sind and Karnatak into separate provinces. It also urged that in the future constitution of India, freedom of belief and worship and the right to carry on religious observances and religious education and propaganda, provided that due regard was paid to the feelings and rights of others, be guaranteed. Matters which were declared to be inter-communal matters should not be moved in, or discussed or adopted by any Legislature if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected opposed it. The decision as to what constituted an inter-communal matter was to be entrusted to a standing committee of Hindu and Muslim members in each Legislature who should be elected at the beginning of each session. The resolution also called upon both Hindus and Muhammadans not to resist by force the right claimed by the one community to conduct processions with music, or, by the other, to slaughter cows either for sacrifice or food. Lastly, the Congress re-affirmed that part of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Conference which treated of the conversion or reconversion of persons from one faith to another.

The resolution adopted by the Indian National Liberal Federation which met at Bombay on the 26th December 1927, was in more general terms and made specific mention only of the electoral system among the various matters in dispute between the two communities. It called upon the members of the Federation to promote and support every movement calculated to bring about a better

understanding between Hindus and Muslims, and to place the relations of the two communities upon an honourable footing of toleration in religious matters. In political affairs, it urged a just representation of minorities in the legislatures and in the public services of the country also, due regard, however, being paid to efficiency. It further suggested that the items of a proposed settlement between Hindus and Muhammadans be discussed at an early date by duly elected representatives of the two communities in a spirit of such genuine co-operation as would lead to complete agreement. Lastly, it declared that joint electorates coupled with reservation of seats for important minorities for the present was the only system under which national patriotism could be developed.

We shall see in the next chapter that the All-India Muslim League split into two parts this year—one part, under Sir Mohammed Shafi, meeting in Lahore, whilst the other, which followed Mr. Jinnah, met at Calcutta under the chairmanship of Maulvi Mohamed Yakoob, a Member of the Legislative Assembly. The Lahore meeting authorised its president to call a Round Table Conference of Muslim leaders to bring about unity of thought and political ideas among Muslims and it expressed regret that the Hindus had rejected the decision of the Calcutta Unity Conference regarding cow-slaughter and music near mosques, by passing resolutions at various meetings, including a special meeting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, which had been held since the Conference. The Calcutta meeting of the Muslim League urged the transformation of Sind into a separate autonomous province, and the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms into the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as other provinces. This meeting also resolved that separate communal electorates could not be surrendered until the two conditions above mentioned were satisfied, when Muhammadans would abandon separate electorates in favour of joint electorates, with reservation of seats on the basis of population. In Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan they would make the same concessions in regard to seats in the legislatures that Hindus made in other provinces to Muhammadans. In the Central Legislature Muhammadan representation should be not less than one-third of the total. Lastly, the League bodily incorporated the provisions of the Madras Congress Resolution regarding freedom of conscience, inter-communal legislation, cow slaughter, music

near mosques and conversion and reconversion from one faith to another.

An examination of these various resolutions will show that they still leave a good deal open to dispute, and the Congress resolution in particular was quickly subjected to a storm of criticisms from various important quarters. They did not, therefore, hold out much hope that they would be able to exercise any considerable unifying influence on the communities and parties concerned, and it was obvious that, if any practical results were to be achieved, the problem would have to be dealt with afresh by a more representative body than any of these three.

Moreover, during the time which elapsed between the Calcutta Conference and the All Parties Conference, to which we now turn, the movement, (to be studied in the next chapter) to boycott the Simon Commission, had been developing, and one of its developments had been a steady stiffening of Muhammadan opinion in favour of co-operation with the Commission. This was another reason why certain leaders of groups and parties in the Central Legislature should make a further and a more ambitious and comprehensive attempt to reach a settlement of the political and politico-religious questions in issue between the communities in order to make straight the path for a solid opposition to the Government and the Statutory Commission.

Towards the middle of February, 1928, meetings began to be held at irregular intervals until the end of the Delhi Session of the Legislature in the last week in March, of a gathering now known as the "All-Parties Conference". This title calls for explanation. The parties and schools of opinion represented were the Congress and Nationalist parties and Mr. Jinnah's Independent group in the Assembly, those Liberals who had joined the boycott and who came almost entirely from the United Provinces and Bombay city, and a few representatives of the old Non-co-operators, chiefly belonging to the now almost non-existent Khilafatists. Among those who were not represented at the 'All Parties Conference', were the great majority of Muslims, the Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians and important sections of the old Liberal Party. What is now one of the strongest and most solidly organised bodies of political opinion in all India, namely the Justice Party in the Madras Presidency, was unrepresented except for one of its leading members who, however,

attended in a purely private capacity. The 'All Parties Conference', then, was only partially representative of Indian opinion, but it is to the credit of its members that they attempted to grapple with those root political matters in issue between Hindus and Muhammadans which, as we have seen, were left untouched by the two earlier Conferences. These are now summed up in the question of the retention or abolition of communal electorates, in the extension of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province, and in the separation of Sind from Bombay by which the former would be made into a separate province with a preponderatingly Muhammadan population. On the question of communal representation, the 'All Parties Conference', constituted as it was, might have come to some agreement based on an arrangement for the reservation of seats either according to population or according to voting strength, but it quickly became apparent that on the other two questions there was not likely to be any accommodation. The extension of the full measure of reforms to the North-West Frontier Province, and the creation of a new province out of Sind would raise the number of major, or Governor's provinces in India to ten, if we exclude Burma, and of these ten provinces four would have a majority of Muhammadan inhabitants, who, accordingly, would be able to exert considerable influence on their Governments. From the beginning of the deliberations of the 'All Parties Conference' the Hindu Mahasabha group of delegates, whose outstanding spokesman was Dr. Moonje, set their faces firmly against these two proposals and announced their determination, to which they have consistently adhered, to suffer the continuance of the system of communal electorates rather than allow the Provinces of India to be arranged on communal lines and according to communal considerations. With the end of the Delhi Session the 'All Parties Conference' broke up after having first arranged for a committee to meet at Bombay at the end of May to consider reports from sub-committees on these various thorny problems which had found no solution at Delhi.

The record of Hindu-Muslim affairs for the year under review ends, therefore, with the failure of another and a very notable attempt to bring about unity between the two communities. In spite of the immediate rejection, by certain sections of Indian political opinion, of the offer made by Lord Irwin in his speech of August 29th, its reception in the country was, on the whole, favourable, and

between August and November, it grew steadily in favour, particularly after the failure of the September Unity Conference, and it is not impossible that the Conference would have taken place in the early part of 1928 had not the announcement of the Statutory Commission eliminated all else from the minds of the politicians and the attention of the press.



In matters industrial, the year under review was a peaceful one on the whole, although it closed with the threat, since fulfilled, of grave and prolonged labour troubles in Bombay and on the East Indian Railway. On page 22 of last year's Report it was said that the number of strikes reported during 1926 was the lowest on record since the inauguration of the present system of accurate registration of trade disputes. During 1927 the number of strikes was 129 as compared with 128 during the previous year, but, whereas during 1926, 1,86,811 men were involved in strikes, the number involved during 1927 was only 1,31,655. The total number of working days lost, however, during 1927 was nearly double that of the preceding year, the increase being largely due to the two prolonged strikes on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, which alone account for a loss of 8,80,218 working days. In about one-third of the strikes the workmen succeeded in gaining some concessions. No fewer than 60 of the strikes during 1927 occurred in cotton mills mostly in Bombay. Twenty-seven of these strikes were on account of disputes relating to wages and 22 on account of personnel disputes. In all 36,089 men were involved who lost 3,50,011 working days. In the three railway strikes 32,114 strikers lost 12,50,421 working days.

The railways unfortunately were not as immune from serious accidents during the period under review as they had been the previous year, and, worse, a number of attempts were made to wreck trains, particularly on the Bengal-Nagpur and East Indian Railways. Some of these dastardly attempts were successful, and what was by far the worst accident of the year was the result of one of these inhuman crimes. This was the wrecking of a Mail train on the Rangoon-Mandalay line in Burma. A fishplate near a bridge had been removed, and as a result, the engine, two luggage vans, and two third class bogies left the track, crashed through the railings of the bridge and down the embankment and piled up in the

bed of the stream below. Twenty-six persons were killed on the spot and 14 afterwards died in hospital. The Guard and 20 passengers suffered from slight injuries and shock. Another bad accident occurred at a level crossing near Amritsar in the Punjab when a train crashed into a motor lorry which was conveying a Muhammedan marriage party and contained at least 32 passengers. The level crossing was on a curve and one of the gates was open. Ten of the party were either killed on the spot or died later of their injuries, whilst 18 others were injured more or less severely. Another serious accident occurred on the 22nd January, 1928, when 8 persons were killed and 15 seriously injured in a collision near Samastipore on the Bengal and North Western Railway. A mixed goods and passenger train parted, the leading goods vehicle became derailed and collided obliquely with the leading 3rd class carriage, causing the casualties mentioned above.

Other acts of sabotage occurred on the Bengal Nagpur Railway during October 1927, when two attempts were made to derail trains. Both of them succeeded, but fortunately neither of them led to any loss of life. On October 5th the Ranchi Express was derailed at Kharagpur, and on the 25th a passenger train left the lines between Chandia Road and Rupaund. In each of these three cases the would-be wreckers tried to accomplish their object by loosening or removing fishplates. Two attempts to derail trains were made on the East Indian Railway in November and December. Fortunately, one of these was unsuccessful, but the other resulted in one death and ten injuries.



Every year, the number of All-India political, communal, social and other conferences seems to increase, and the more prominent of these will be found described in appropriate places in this book. One conference, however, held during the year calls for special mention here because of its singular importance and high promise for the future. This was the All-India Women's Conference on educational reform which was opened by Her Excellency Lady Irwin on February the 7th, 1928. About one thousand ladies, fully representative of the different communities, creeds, and races of India were present at the opening ceremony. In an impressive address, which received considerable attention from the Indian press and public, Lady Irwin said that she realised the deep and far-reaching influence of women in India. They were the re-

pository of national tradition and she advised them not to be blind leaders of the blind, but bringers of light, courage, and hope, and she declared that it was their work to wed all that was best in the old to what was best in the new. Her Excellency recognised that there were enormous obstacles in the way of female education in this country, and among them she placed difficulties arising from language, poverty, ignorance, apathy, hostile public opinion, social customs and, even, politics. But women the world over were famed for their patience in face of adversity and she assured her hearers that if they acted with resolute courage, they would surmount all the obstacles in their way. Her Excellency especially emphasised the need of lady teachers and stated that this was a problem which had to be faced and solved, particularly in a country like India, where the population was mainly rural. The aim should be to give girls practical knowledge of domestic subjects and of the laws of health, which would enable them to fulfil one side of their duties as wives and mothers, and this knowledge should be reinforced by the study of other subjects which would most help to widen their interests and their outlook on life. During the session of the Conference a large number of the delegates visited the Legislative Assembly, and heard a discussion on Sir Hari Singh Gour's Age of Consent Bill. Before it dispersed, the Conference passed some practical resolutions and urged the necessity for the compulsory primary education of girls. Governments and local bodies were asked to make the necessary financial provision for this purpose and also to make special grants for Muslim and other girls who suffered from the disabilities of the Purdah system. A central fund was successfully started for the furtherance of female education in India. The Conference, in fact, was a complete success and the enthusiasm displayed and the practical steps taken to help on the education of women in India are of the very happiest augury for the future.



We may turn now for a moment to the Church of England in India.

A few years ago it was represented to the Government of India that as the position of the Church of England in India has changed considerably since the time when the East India Company provided religious Ministration for the benefit of its Christian employees and

as the Church in India is now in a position to govern its own affairs, an independent Church, which should be in harmony with but not subject to the Church of England, should be established in this country. The Government of India found themselves in sympathy with this desire for the creation of an independent church. The Provincial Governments in India who were consulted expressed general agreement with the principle of the proposal and the scheme was accordingly recommended to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. The question was subjected to further detailed examination both in England and in India and after mature deliberation, the Indian Church Measure, which was designed to effect the severance of the union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India, was presented to the National Assembly of the Church of England on March the 2nd 1927, and the Indian Church Bill which contained provisions incidental to and consequential on this severance was introduced in the House of Lords on May the 10th of the same year. Both the Measure and the Bill passed successfully through the various stages of legislation to which they were subject and the Indian Church Measure, 1927, and the Indian Church Act, 1927, by an Order passed by His Majesty in Council came into operation on the 1st day of January 1928. The severance of the union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India will not, however, take place until some date, not less than two or more than three years from the date of effect of the Indian Church Measure, 1927, to be fixed upon by the Governor General of India in Council in consultation with the General Council of the Church of India. The dissolution of the union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India will consequently take place some time between the 1st January and 31st December 1930 and from the date of severance the Metropolitan in India ceases to be under the general supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury. From the same date the Indian Church will be free and independent and able to govern her own affairs. Certain safeguards, however, have been framed in order to secure that services in accordance with the rites of the Church of England shall be available for British-born Government employees and soldiers in India in respect of whom the Government has an obligation to provide religious ministrations.

Considerable interest was aroused during the year by a prolonged controversy between the European Association and the Y.M.C.A. It began on February 18th, 1927 when, at the annual general meeting of the European Association, a violent attack was made on the Y.M.C.A. by a European merchant in Calcutta, and a resolution was carried viewing "with the gravest disapproval the part taken in politics in India by Secretaries of the Y.M.C.A." Various general allegations of anti-British propaganda on the part of the Y.M.C.A. were made, and the wide-spread publicity given to these in the press throughout the country attracted attention. The Indian community regarded it as a political attack upon Dr. S. K. Datta and Mr. K. T. Paul, both secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. and well-known for their national sympathies. The European community was troubled by the charges, though not disposed to accept without question the resolution of the Calcutta meeting. The Y.M.C.A. issued a prompt and detailed answer to the accusations through Dr. S. K. Dutta, their National General Secretary. He stated that the Y.M.C.A. "stood for co-operation irrespective of race under Christian leadership for the promotion of the welfare of the people of India," and asked for an impartial enquiry. In July, the enquiry was held, the committee consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Pearson of the Calcutta High Court, and Sir B. L. Mitter, the Advocate General of Bengal. Their report was published at the end of August, and was generally considered as a vindication of the Y.M.C.A. The only recommendation made by the committee was that "a more efficient control might be exercised by the Y.M.C.A. authorities over the lecturers themselves and the lectures delivered in Y.M.C.A. halls."

The attitude of the European Association however remained suspicious until February 1928, when its president Mr. C. B. Chartres in his annual speech pointed out that the Y.M.C.A. had taken steps to see that abuses of its hospitality would not be possible, and hoped that the members of the Association would support its work as whole-heartedly as they had done in the past.



The Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which mention has been made in the last two reports, ended its work during the year under review. Further evidence was taken in India during the cold weather of 1927-28, after which the Commission assembled at

Mahableshwar and wrote its report. It is expected that this document will be published in the early summer of 1928.*



Another enquiry of considerable importance was undertaken during the year under review by a committee appointed with the sanction of the Indian Legislature " to examine and report on the system of censorship of cinematograph films in India and to consider whether it is desirable that any step should be taken to encourage the exhibition of films produced within the British Empire generally and the production and exhibition of Indian films in particular.'' The account, given at page 100 in last year's Report, of a debate in the Council of State on the Cinema problem in India showed that a good deal of anxiety existed as to the effect which was being produced, particularly on the rising generation, in this country by the increasing exhibition of western films. The Government of India has, of late years, devoted much attention to the problem and it was felt after the debate in the Council that the time had come when a complete and authoritative enquiry should be held into the whole question of cinematograph censorship as well as into the other matters mentioned above. Accordingly, on September the 14th, the Home Member, Mr. Crerar, moved a resolution for the formation of a Committee to undertake this work. In his speech the Home Member stated the objects which it was proposed to attain by means of the committee and the most noteworthy feature of the ensuing debate was the fear expressed by some members that the committee would be used as a means of introducing Imperial Preference by the back door. As to the desirability of enquiring into the censorship and if possible improving it, there was no division of opinion. The debate was adjourned on the 14th of September and resumed on the 19th of the same month when the discussion had again to be adjourned on account of the lateness of the hour. No further time could be allotted during the session for the discussion of this resolution, but it was clear from the attitude of the members that they were in favour of an enquiry into the censorship of Cinema films. Moreover, the Council of State unanimously adopted a resolution moved in identical terms by Mr. Haig, Home Secretary, on September 15th, and the Government of India therefore felt themselves justi-

* This Report has since been presented.

fied in nominating a committee for the purposes named in the Resolution. The Committee consisted of an Indian Chairman—Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar—and the following members:—

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer, Kt.
Colonel J. D. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., M.L.A.
Mr. K. C. Neogy, M.L.A.
Mr. A. M. Green, I.C.S.
Mr. J. Coatman, M.L.A.
Mr. G. G. Hooper, M.C., I.C.S., Secretary.

Between November 1927 and March 1928 the Committee toured over the greater part of India and Burma. Their report is expected to be published during the summer of 1928.*



In last year's Report some account was given of visits by air to India and it was said that these visits had given abundant proof of the practicability of regular Aerial travel between Europe and India. Between April the 1st 1927 and April the 1st 1928 the number of flights from Europe to or across India was greater than during the preceding 12 months. Altogether these flights, civil and military, foreign and British, numbered 9. At the beginning of our period, the Serbian aviators Captain Sondermeyer and Lieutenant Barchest flew a Potez Lorrainne Dietrich Biplane from Paris to Calcutta and back to Serbia. In June a Fokker Monoplane belonging to the Dutch Air Service flew from Amsterdam to Batavia and back. In the same month the American world fliers Messrs. Brock and Schlee followed in their famous plane "The Pride of Detroit." The next Airmen to fly from Europe to India were Lieut: Koppen on a Fokker Monoplane carrying mail to the Dutch East Indies from Amsterdam, and Captain Challe and Mechanic Rapin of the Paris to Saigon French Military Flight who crossed India in October. In November the flight of four Southampton Flying Boats which left Plymouth in October 1927, under the command of Group-Captain Cave-Brown-Cave, D.S.O., D.F.C., arrived at Karachi. The machines left Karachi in January, 1928, and flew round the coast of India, touching at various ports on the way, including Bombay, Madras and Rangoon. Singapore was reached in March 1928 without the occurrence of any untoward event. In November Herr Koennecke, the German

* This Report has since been presented.

flier who was carrying Count Solms as a passenger in his Biplane "Germania" also reached India. The last two flights to be chronicled are both well-known ones. Flying officer Lancaster and Mrs. Keith Miller crossed India in the Avro Avian "Red Rose" in December and Mr. Bert Hinckler flew across India in February 1928 in the course of his world famous England to Australia flight.



Important visits to India during the year included those of His Majesty King Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan and Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War. His Majesty King Amanullah passed through this country on his way from Afghanistan to Europe. Crossing the frontier of India at Chaman in Baluchistan on December the 10th, he proceeded *viâ* Quetta and Karachi to Bombay where he arrived on December the 14th.

Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War, arrived in India at the beginning of December in order to make himself acquainted at first hand with the military situation in this country. His visit occupied about a month and during its course he visited Delhi and toured the North-West Frontier.



At the beginning of April 1927, it was announced that plans were being discussed for beginning work on the new India House in London, which had been designed to provide adequate and suitable accommodation for the office of the High Commissioner for India. After examining various projects the Government of India ultimately decided to apply for the lease of a portion of the site lying vacant at Aldwych between the present Marconi House and Bush House. The chosen site comprises an area of approximately 12,400 square feet with a frontage of about 130 feet on Aldwych and a return frontage of about 100 feet on Montreal Place. The new building will accommodate all Departments of the High Commissioner's office other than the India Store Department, which will remain in its present position. The design of the building is the work of Sir Herbert-Baker, A.R.A., and the structural and mechanical engineering services are in the hands of Dr. Oscar Faber, O.B.E., as Consulting Engineer. The cost of the building is estimated at £324,000 and it is hoped that the new premises will be occupied by the end of 1930. For convincing

reasons the Architect has decided that India House must follow the restrained architecture of its immediate neighbours, and that reliance must be placed upon simple, well proportioned fenestration and the continuity of the one great cornice with those of its neighbours, and upon plain wall surfaces which catch the light, rather than upon heavy moulding which interferes with light and rapidly collects a sooty deposit. Expression of the Indian character of the building will therefore be mainly found in the interior, but it has yet been the aim of the Architect to give to the details of the external elevation by means of carving, heraldry, and symbolism an individuality proclaiming to all who know the language of Indian art that it is to be the London home of India.



Of late years a continually growing stream of visitors has set in towards India during the cold weather months, and the excellent arrangements made for their comfort and convenience by the Indian railways will, no doubt, continue to swell the stream. One of the greatest attractions which India now offers to tourists is undoubtedly to be found in the work of the Archæological Department. During the last quarter of a century the department has uncovered many of the varied records of Indian history, and Sir John Marshall's excavation of the buried cities of Taxila in the North-Western Punjab ranks with the historic work of Schliemann at Myceneae, and Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos. But the work on which he and his department are now engaged at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind bids fair to overshadow even his work at Taxila and become one of the great landmarks in the progress of research into human origins. The discoveries hitherto made at Mohenjo-Daro raise far more problems than they solve, but it is hoped that in the years to come, Mohenjo-Daro and its contemporary, Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Western Punjab, will provide material for solving some of the most important problems in human origins and cultural affinities which have arisen since the linguistic studies of Sir William Jones and others first revealed by means of comparative philology certain relationships which had previously been unsuspected. Following the precedent set in last year's Report, therefore, an account of the work done by the Indian Archæological Department during the year under review is presented here.

From what has been said above, it is obvious that for the public at large no less than for the expert, the most fascinating of the problems that are now engaging the attention of the Archæological Department are those connected with the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus, the recent discovery of which has already carried back the story of India's past for another three-thousand years, and (which is equally important) brought her at that remote epoch within the orbit of the wide-flung chalcolithic culture which embraced most other Asiatic countries as well as Eastern Europe and Egypt. In attacking this problem the first task naturally before the Archæological Department is the excavation of the two great centres of this civilisation at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab. During the past year substantial progress has been made at both these sites. At Mohenjo-Daro two large and solidly built structures have been laid bare to the north and east of the Great Tank. A striking feature in one of them is a double row of ablution chambers, separated one from another by a narrow corridor, with a water channel running down its centre. The other building has a large hall with fenestrated walls very similar to those around the Great Tank. In other parts of this site the efforts of the diggers brought to light a number of artisans' quarters and dwelling houses, bearing a noticeable resemblance to those unearthed by Mr. Woolley at Ur in Southern Mesopotamia. Simultaneously with these operations at Mohenjo-Daro, an examination was also made of a high mound named Jhukar some 25 miles away to the North-East, which proved to contain several well defined strata of remains: Kushana at the top, later pre-historic in the middle, and chalocolithic of the Mohenjo-Daro period at the bottom. The value of this discovery lies in the tangible hope it affords of further excavations on this site helping to fill the wide gap between the Indus period of the 3rd and 4th millennia B.C. and the historic age of India which does not open until some 2000 years later. The Kushana pottery from this site, let it be added, is peculiarly attractive and unlike anything of its kind hitherto unearthed in India. Of the discoveries made this year at Harappa, the most instructive from an archæological point of view were a small group of skeletal remains and a series of burial urns. The former comprised parts of three human skeletons lying in a brick enclosure about 11 feet below the surface. Unfortunately only the skulls, collar bones and a few other stray

bones had survived, the bodies having apparently been exposed to the vultures before being buried. The burial urns were eleven in number, ranging in height from 8 to 22 inches, and were occupying their original positions immediately below the surface of the site. Five were covered with earthen bowls, and six painted with figures of peacocks and other birds, stars, etc. One of them has been found to contain 3 human skulls; the others are still in process of being examined. The shape and small size of these urns are sufficient to show that they could have been meant only for "fractional" burials, that is, to contain such bones as could be collected after the exposure of the bodies. Nevertheless, it is by no means certain—though the point is one that is likely to be settled at an early date—whether these urns belong to the chalcolithic age; for, on the one hand, the urns themselves differ in shape from those of the Indus period; on the other, they have so far been found to contain nothing that can be regarded as distinctive of that culture.

Pari passu with the task of excavating these great city sites, the Archæological Department has also continued its efforts to follow up this Indus civilisation westward across Baluchistan and discover, if possible, its relationship with the chalcolithic cultures of Sistan, Persia, Transcaspia and Mesopotamia. Last year, it may be remembered, a reconnaissance was carried out in Northern Baluchistan, which revealed the existence of chalcolithic settlements throughout that region. During the past winter this survey was extended southward through Kharan, Makran and Jhalawan which now form part of the Kalat State and in ancient times were included in the Gedrosia Province of the old Persian Empire. The classical records, especially those relating to the sufferings of Alexander's army on its return march through Baluchistan, make it clear that at that time the physical character, mainly desertic, of these territories could not have differed much from the present one. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the great number of mounds that have now been discovered in these arid wastes marking the sites of towns and burial grounds and attesting the prevalence here of a well developed culture during the pre-historic period. A few of these mounds were partially explored and yielded an abundance of painted pottery, terracotta figurines, stone implements and the like, evidencing their occupation by successive settlements from neolithic to chalcolithic times. These excavations

also provided instructive data regarding the conditions of daily life and burial customs in vogue at different periods.

While concentrating particularly on these pre-historic problems the Department has been far from neglecting the claims of historic archæology. At Taxila, another group of monuments has been added to those already brought to light by the excavation of two Buddhist monasteries of the later Kushana period in a hitherto untouched valley known as Giri or Khurram, some four miles from the main sites. Both of these monasteries are relatively well preserved, and the larger one exhibits several features that have not previously been met with in this class of architecture. Apropos of the Department's activities at Taxila, it may be mentioned in passing that the new Archæological Museum there has been brought to completion and was opened to the public on April 5th, 1928. In point of design, construction and furnishing, this Museum is as fine a one as could be desired, while of the exhibits displayed in it, it is enough to say that they include in their number the only connected groups of ancient clay and plaster reliefs known to exist in India and—more important still—the only considerable collections of domestic utensils, implements, ornaments and the like from any site of the historic period.

At Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency finds of outstanding value have also been made during the past year. The remains now exposed embrace many stupas, three apsidal temples, and two monasteries, besides which there has also been discovered in the neighbouring forest a ruined brick stupa overgrown with jungle, the basement of which proves to be faced with a series of finely carved limestone slabs similar in size, design and execution to those belonging to the famous Amaravati Stupa in the same district, while another series of slabs adorned with garlands formed an encircling band half way up its dome. The scenes portrayed on the basement reliefs are of rare beauty and interest illustrating, as they do, many of the Jataka stories and incidents in the life of the Buddha. Among other notable finds made on the same site were a brick chaitya containing a standing image of the Buddha of super-human size; four handsome stone pillars of a novel and early pattern, enriched with semi-classical figures, which once supported the timbered roof of a large pavilion; and—most striking of all—four massive and exquisitely carved stone beams, no doubt the transoms of four gate-

ways that stood at the cardinal points around the Stupa. The front face of each transom is divided into a number of small panels filled with reliefs, and so delicate is the workmanship, so minute the detail, that they resemble ivory-carving rather than stone-work.

Another important site of the Buddhists, where excavation continued to yield fruitful results, was the famous monastery, or rather group of monasteries, at Nalanda in Bihar, the remains of which range in date from the 6th to the 12th century. As the digging of the site progresses, the vast and impressive character of the layout becomes more and more apparent. On one side (to the east) a range of eight great monasteries contiguous one to the other; opposite and corresponding to it a range of imposing stupas, with a broad avenue between the two, closed at its southern end by two more monasteries. The task of excavating such an immense area is necessarily a gigantic one and is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that the structures were many times destroyed and rebuilt. Monastery 1, for example, was rebuilt no less than nine times, and it has had to be excavated and conserved in such a manner as to exhibit in sequence a section of each successive layer. In this, as well as in the other buildings, the stratum that has proved richest in finds is that associated with the name of Devapala (9th Century A.D.). Among the many antiquities that it yielded during the past year were a number of bronze and stone statues—some of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas, others of Hindu deities such as Vishnu and Ganesha. That the latter were worshipped side by side with the orthodox Buddhist images, there can be no doubt, and their discovery furnishes further proof of the remarkable contamination between the Hindu and Buddhist cults that was taking place in the 9th Century. Such contamination has, of course, been observed on many other sites, and has lately been strikingly revealed by the excavations at Paharpur in Eastern Bengal, where the several terraces of the Great Buddhist Temple are decorated with both Brahmanical and Buddhist reliefs. What is still more startling, in connection with this Temple at Paharpur, is the recent discovery of a copper plate inscription of the Gupta year 159 (A.D. 479) which seems to show that before ever it was appropriated by the Buddhists and the Brahmans this Temple belonged to the Jains. Apropos of inscriptions it may be added that a document of unique value has lately

been unearthed by the Department at Hmawza (Old Prome) in Burma. This is a bilingual record in Sanskrit and Pyu engraved on the pedestal of a seated Buddha image—the Sanskrit in Gupta characters of the 7th-8th Century; the Pyu, which is a word for word translation of the Sanskrit, in a South Indian script of the same period. Readers unfamiliar with Burmese studies will be able to appreciate better the importance of this find, when it is stated that the reconstruction of early Burmese history must, in future, depend largely upon the decipherment of Pyu documents and that the number of words in the Pyu language of which the meaning has been ascertained is as yet extremely small.

If, in this resumé, priority has been given to the new discoveries of the Archæological Department, it is because such discoveries appeal most to the average reader, not because the excavation of buried remains is by any means the chief or most important function of the Department. As a fact, three quarters of the Department's energies and a still larger share of its funds are exhausted on the repair and maintenance of the national monuments; but its operations in this sphere are spread over such a multitude of buildings that even the barest account of them would be beyond the compass of this report. Here are a few of the principal ones on which the Department has been concentrating its attention during the last twelve months:—in the Punjab, the Lahore Fort (which is being restored and laid out on lines similar to those already adopted with conspicuous success at Delhi and Agra); in the Delhi area, the Begampuri Mosque; in the United Provinces, the Gupta Temples at Deogarh, the Fort of Kalanjar, the Buddhist Stupa and Temple at Kasia and the Tomb of Akbar at Sikandarah; in the Bombay Presidency, the Palace of the Peshwas at Poona, the Elephanta Caves, the Bukhari Masjid, the Gol Gumbaz and Asar Mahal at Bijapur, the city walls and Ek-minar-ki-Masjid at Champanir, the Mansar Talao at Viramgaon, the Queen's Mosque near Ahmedabad and the Temple at Deothan in the Nasik District; in the Central Circle, the Monasteries and Stupas at Nalanda, the Fort and Palace at Rohtas, the Forts of Chanda and Gawilgarh, the Jami Masjid at Asirgarh and the Kanthi Dewal Temple at Ratanpur; in the Eastern Circle, the excavated Temple at Paharpur, the Mosque of Baba Adam at Rampal and the Dah Parbatiya Temple near Tezpur; in the Madras Presidency, the Temples at Danayakankottai, the monuments

of Hampi, the Seven Pagodas and the Fortress of Gingee; in Burma, the Palace and walls of Mandalay and the Kyaukku Ohnmin and Pebingyaung Temples at Pagan.

Up to three years ago Archæological Officers were responsible only for advising the local Administrations what measures of repair were necessary and for satisfying themselves that they were properly carried out; the actual execution of the work was in the hands of the Provincial Public Works' Departments. In 1925, however, the experiment was made in the United Provinces of transferring the execution of repairs from the Public Works to the Archæological Department, and as this experiment proved eminently successful, it has now been extended to the Punjab, and will probably be extended by degrees to other Provinces also. The cost of maintaining a special staff is necessarily slightly higher but it is more than counterbalanced by the improved quality of the work, for which the average Engineer has little aptitude.



In September 1927 a reference was received from the India Office communicating a proposal of the American Oriental Society for the establishment in India of an American School of Indo-Iranian Research. The Government of India welcomed the proposal on the understanding that the School and its workers would abstain from all forms of local political activity and that the Government of India were not required to make any financial contribution towards it. Such a school is likely to be of the greatest value to oriental research in this country, not merely by virtue of what it may itself achieve, but because of the effect it may have in raising the general standard of scientific philological work.



This chapter might fitly close with a mention of the successful completion of the great Linguistic Survey of India on which Sir George Grierson has been engaged for the greater part of the last thirty years. The survey represents an achievement hitherto attempted by no other country, and it puts on permanent record examples of the exact speech of nearly a hundred different linguistic communities in the Indian Empire. Lord Birkenhead has well compared Sir George Grierson's work to that of Gibbon, of Samuel Johnson and of Murray, whilst His Majesty's Government have recognised its value by conferring upon Sir George the high honour of the Order of Merit.

CHAPTER II.

Politics during the year.

(In this Chapter the words "The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms", "The Reforms" and "The Reformed System of Government" all mean the existing system of government in India which is based on the Government of India Act of 1919. In an Appendix will be found a short note on the composition and grouping of the existing Legislative Assembly.)

Enough was said in the previous chapter about the effect of the announcement regarding the Statutory Commission to show that it must be regarded as the most important single event in the politics of the year which we are now passing under review. We may, in fact, rightly regard it as the pivot on which the whole politics of the year turns, for, quite soon after the end of the period with which we dealt in our previous report, the coming Commission began to cast its shadow before, and discussion regarding its composition began to appear in the columns of the public press and elsewhere. But in truth the announcement of the Commission has acted as something more than a pivot. It has, if we may change our simile somewhat violently, performed the functions of a spectroscope, for it has split Indian politics into its component parts distinguishing one element from another, and enabling the observer to see something of the composition of the subject which he is studying. By the help of this new instrument he will see how interests, communities, and sections of political opinion range themselves, and how the Provinces also come into the many coloured line, for their politics and points of view are also elements—and elements of growing importance—in the general politics of India.

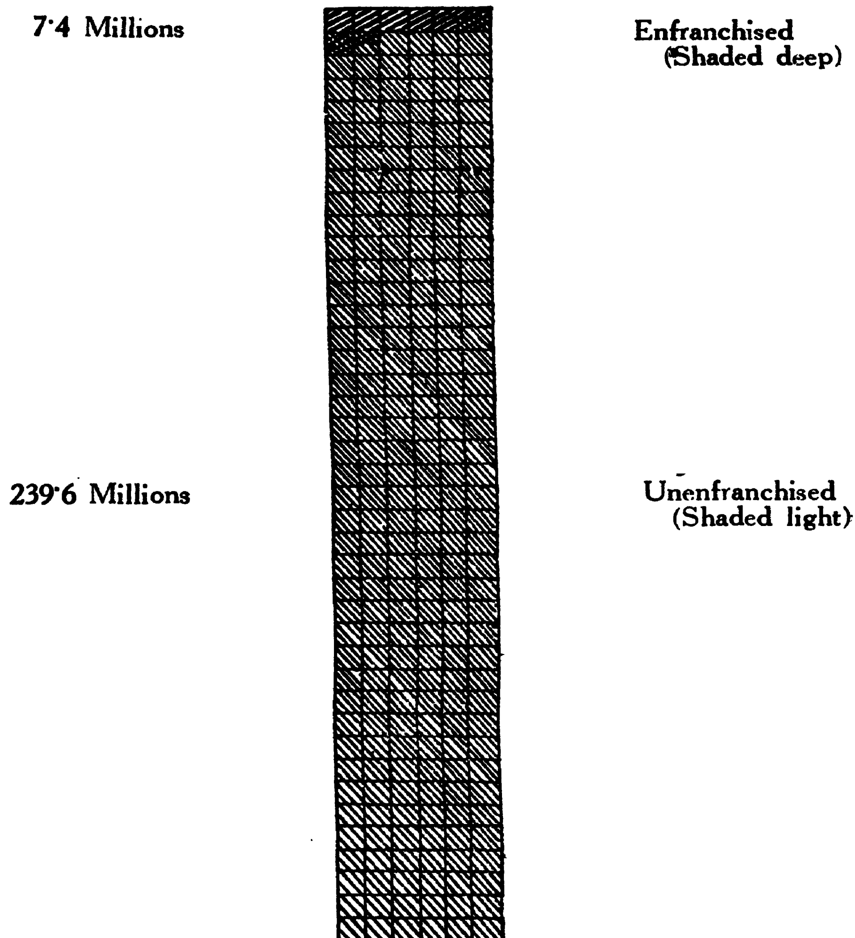


The appointment of the Commission at a date earlier than 1929—the end of the ten year period mentioned in the Government of India Act—had been long demanded in India, for it is, perhaps, not surprising to find that educated political opinion in this country ascribes most, if not all, of the difficulties encountered in the working of the reformed constitution to the limitations

imposed by its avowedly transitional form upon popular control. There have, therefore, been constant demands from a very early date for a revision of the Government of India Act of a kind satisfactory to Indian aspirations. As early as September 1921 the Assembly accepted a resolution embodying its opinion that an inquiry into a revision of the Government of India Act at an earlier date than 1929 was desirable. In reply the Secretary of State urged that the existing constitution provided opportunities for progress and that the new political machinery had not been fully tested or the capacity of the Indian electorate fully ascertained. During 1923 the Legislative Assembly twice again gave its opinion in favour of immediate constitutional advance. Naturally these opinions were strongly reinforced when the Congress Party entered the Assembly at the end of 1923, and in the following year the Government of India agreed that it was desirable to hold an inquiry into the working of the constitution hitherto. The Secretary of State concurred in this view, and the question again arose in the Assembly during 1924. Early in that year a resolution was moved recommending an early revision of the Government of India Act with a view to securing for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire together with responsible government in the provinces. An amendment to this resolution was tabled by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, who suggested the summoning of a Round Table Conference to recommend a draft constitution for India. This amendment was accepted by a very large majority. During the debate Sir Malcolm Hailey who was then Home Member, announced that the Government of India was prepared to hold an inquiry into the working of the constitution up to date, but he made it quite clear that no such radical measures as were contemplated by either the resolution or the amendment could be entertained. He said that if an inquiry revealed the desirability and feasibility of any advances or amendments within the limits of the existing Act, then the Government of India would be willing to notify Parliament to that effect. If however the inquiry showed that no advance was possible without amending the Act that would leave the question of advance entirely open and the Government of India entirely uncommitted with regard to it. As a result of this debate a committee consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials was appointed under the Chairmanship of the late Sir Alexander

DIAGRAM.

The Voters of British India.



N.B.—Each square represents 1,000,000 of population.

Muddiman to see what could be done to improve the working of the existing machinery. The Committee issued its report in March 1925. The majority maintained that the present constitution had not been in existence long enough to enable any decision on its merits to be pronounced, but the minority opposed this view and declared that Indian political opinion would be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of Dyarchy and the institution of provincial autonomy. On September 7th, 1925, the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, then Home Member of the Government of India, moved a Resolution in the Assembly recommending the acceptance of the principle underlying the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and early consideration of the detailed recommendations contained therein for improving the machinery of Government. Mr. Crerar, then Home Secretary, moved an identical resolution in the Council of State. A long amendment to the Resolution in the Assembly was moved by the leader of the Swaraj Party, the gist of it being that immediate steps be taken to move His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in Parliament embodying such fundamental changes in the constitutional machinery and administration of India as would make the government of the country fully responsible. The Amendment also recommended the holding of a Round Table Conference or other suitable agency adequately representative of all Indian, European and Anglo-Indian interests, to frame a detailed scheme based on the above principles, and to place the said scheme for approval before the Legislative Assembly, after which it would be submitted to Parliament to be embodied in a statute. The Amendment was carried against the Government by 72 votes to 45.

Lastly, during the debate on the general budget in March 1926 another resolution was moved asking for the appointment of the Statutory Commission at some date earlier than 1929. After a discussion lasting for two days the resolution was negatived by 47 votes to 31, but it must be remembered that before the debate took place the whole of the Congress Party had vacated their seats in the Assembly.

From the above it is clear that two different views have been held in Indian Nationalist quarters since 1921 regarding the revision of the Indian constitution. The Swarajists, or Congress Party as they are now called, have asked for nothing less than a Round Table Conference to implement certain agreed principles. The

more moderate section, however, have all through been willing to submit the whole question to the Statutory Commission referred to in section 84-A of the Government of India Act 1919.



Before we enter on the narrative of the year's events in politics, we may with advantage make a few general observations. One great danger, to which every writer on Indian politics is exposed, is the all but unavoidable necessity of simplifying his subject unduly. To compile a faithful and reasonably complete account of the politics of any country which can properly be said to have any politics, is always apt to prove a troublesome and involved undertaking, but a review of Indian politics presents certain difficulties peculiar to itself. In truth, the difference between chronicling the annual politics of a country like England which may be adequately summarised in an account of her well-defined political parties and their programmes and party warfare, and chronicling the politics of India,—where there are no true political parties, and consequently, no party programmes in the usually accepted sense of the word—is the difference between drawing a plan of a well ordered garden and that of painting a picture of a great stretch of virgin country. The reader will, therefore, understand that the chapter which follows is to be likened to a photograph taken from an aeroplane. As wide a stretch as possible will be covered but at the unavoidable expense of much omission of detail and much violent compression into single phrases of long and complex arguments and qualifying conditions. Political, constitutional, regional, economic, social and other strands are all inter-twined. In some places the eye may discern a regular pattern and in other places the beginnings of such a pattern, but it would be a mistake to look for any harmonius, comprehensible design throughout the whole complex of movements, aspirations, alliances, and antagonisms of many kinds which go to make up what we conveniently call Indian politics. Matters which at one time may be settled by a Police Court, a Town Council, or similar humble agency, may at others assume political importance and require the attention of a Provincial, or, even, the Central, Government or Legislature. The slaughter of a cow in certain circumstances, or the beating of a drum in a particular place, may give rise to results which reverberate throughout India, and, by

their effect on communal relations, react on the general political situation. Again, there is one politics of the central legislature and another of the provincial legislatures—indeed of each provincial legislative council and each province. In some places there is one politics of the country and another of the town, or, again, one politics of landlords and another of tenants. Already it is not too early to discern the beginnings of rival politics of capital and labour and, unfortunately, rival communal policies cannot possibly be ignored however much they may be deprecated. Compact of all these, and yet having its own form, its own individual character, and its own particular problems which differ from those of any of its parts, is Indian politics, and the whole of its secret will not be given up to him who understands—or thinks he understands—the peculiar circumstances of the Legislative Assembly, or of any provincial legislature, or of any one, or of several of the many strands which make up the politics of this country. To see things whole must be the ambition of the student of Indian political affairs no less than of the philosopher.

It is unnecessary to point out that much of the complexity of present day Indian politics was introduced by the Act of 1919. Before this statute was brought into operation, it might be said fairly enough that there was no provincial politics. Bengal and Bombay, or perhaps more accurately, Calcutta and Bombay City, had certain well defined economic interest, which, on occasions, brought them into disagreement with the Central Government or with other parts of India. But the Government of India was strongly centralised government and the provinces had far less scope than they now have and, consequently less need and fewer opportunities for developing their own politics and provincial points of view. The Reforms, by investing the provinces with something of the appearance—and, perhaps, of the reality also—of the component States of a federal government, profoundly altered their status and functions. Again, it was necessary, as the authors of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, generally known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, frankly stated, to rouse the Indian people from their "pathetic contentment", in other words, to cultivate the political sense in the masses of this country. Naturally such a proceeding as this was bound to add to the complexity of Indian politics, and the encouragement given to the process of development of a common Indian nationality has resulted

in a great quickening of political thought, and in a steadily growing pressure, and ceaseless and valuable criticism, from certain quarters against not only the performance of the Indian Government but against its very structure and foundations. Pressure and criticism of this kind come mostly from the extreme left wing of Indian political opinion, but practically all sections of political thought in this country are united in their demand for responsible self-government on the same terms as the other self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth. Only a negligible minority ask for complete independence outside the British Commonwealth, and we are justified in saying that the ultimate goal before the Indian politicians of all shades of opinion is 'dominion status' for India. Nothing could demonstrate this more clearly than the fate of the Independence Resolution, (to which we shall revert later in this chapter) passed at the Madras Session of the All-India National Congress in December 1927. That Resolution awoke no response in the country and has since been tacitly ignored by every important section of Indian political thought.

These two results of the Reforms, namely: the change in the status of the provinces, and the general quickening of political life, thought, and aspirations in this country, have exercised their influence during the years since 1921 in two opposite directions. They have been both centrifugal and centripetal influences. One of the features of these post-Reforms years has been a growth of provincial consciousness which has shown itself in the increasing importance of provincial politics as compared with all-India politics. Many of the keenest and most able politicians in India are to be found in the provincial councils, most of which are very live centres of political activity. It might perhaps be too much to say that instead of one political centre of gravity for all India, each province has its own centre in its own provincial council, or that the doings of the Central Legislature are, in the eyes of the provincial electorates and councils, of secondary importance. But that a tendency in this direction exists can hardly be doubted.

Another feature of these post-reform years is the growth in class and community consciousness. The most spectacular demonstration of this has been provided by the course of Hindu-Muslim relations, but it should not be forgotten that these two are not the

only communities which have an individual outlook and particular ambitions and politics. All the colour and action of post-Reforms politics in the Madras Presidency—where politics have been both picturesque and strenuous during these years—derive from the rivalry between the Brahman and Non-Brahman communities, which are served respectively by two of the most ably conducted and readable newspapers in all India—the "Hindu", and "Justice". It is from the latter that the Non-Brahmin party in Madras takes its name of the 'Justice Party' by which it is very often known. The depressed classes, too, are becoming more vocal, and their annual and other conferences will, no doubt, foster among them a sense of unity of interests which will in time perhaps develop into a unity of political action. Elsewhere, Swarajists and Responsivists, or Landlords and Tenants have imported into politics rivalries based on real differences in points of view or material interests, the germs, in fact, of true party programmes of the future. But, on the whole, such political groupings as we have seen in the Indian provinces since the rise of the new legislatures have been on communal rather than on ordinary party lines.

But if the Reforms have exercised an apparently disruptive influence in these two directions, in others their influence has worked quite as strongly in the other direction of unifying and solidifying the different sections, communities, and races of India. In the very forefront of these unifying influences is the Central Legislature, in whose two Houses are gathered representatives of every part and class of India, assembled together for a common purpose, conscious of certain general interests and aspirations which they all hold in common, and dealing normally with business which concerns the whole of India. In the years since 1921, the Legislative Assembly has become beyond any question the focus of all-India politics. The other all-India political organisations, whether National Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha or Liberal Federation, are definitely party, communal, or sectional organisations, and cannot now challenge the pre-eminence of the Central Legislature.

In the League of Nations, and in various international congresses, conferences, and committees, Indians now find themselves representing a country which, in the eyes of the outside world, is more and more regarded as a nation-state, acting as

such in the counsels of her sister nations and enjoying with them equal status and equal privileges. Here again is a centripetal force helping to draw scattered parts to a common centre.

But if India is still in process of becoming a political unity, she has long been an economic unity subject to all the influences and forces, material and non-material, which operate in such a state. Undoubtedly, the economic motive is one of the strongest centralising forces at work in any nation-state, Federal or Unitary, and it merges imperceptibly into other motives, or, even, it may be said, includes other motives of moral or political kind which are more generally admitted to be the mainsprings of national patriotism. Railways, roads, telegraphs, and post offices do more than bring the peoples and parts of India into close physical contact and communication with each other. They break down barriers which have been erected by centuries of isolation and consequent divergent development, barriers not only of time and space but of conflicting interests and different ideas and ideals. They provide the physical and material, and lay the foundations of some of the spiritual conditions of national unity. The fiscal policy of India is an element in her economic system of high constructive capacity. In the matter of tariffs, the Central Legislature thinks and works for all India, for this is a peculiar sphere in which no sectional interests can be allowed to triumph. If they do, then their supporters must at any rate do homage to the national ideal by maintaining that the interests of the part coincide with those of the whole. From the point of view of economics, India is already a solid, well-articulated unit, and economic unity is the corner stone of political and, generally, of national unity.

So when the appointment of the Statutory Commission was announced, the response to it was not unanimous in this country, and some of the voices were not very clear or easily recognisable. The responses of the different forces and interests mentioned above, speaking, as these do, with different voices and, some of them, in opposite senses, represent neither fortuitous nor artificial reactions to the event, so fateful for India's future, of the formation of the Statutory Commission. On the contrary, the said forces and interests from which the responses proceed, are the products of conditions, some of which have prevailed for long enough, whilst others owe their existence to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. This short prolegomenon may, perhaps, help the reader to sort

out the different elements in the apparently jumbled spectrum which is Indian politics since November 8th, 1927.

We may now start from the point where we left off last year, and begin to weld our link for 1927-28 on to the rest of the chain. On April 1st, 1927, Hindu-Muhammadan antagonism overspread the whole field of Indian politics and diverted all attention to itself. The situation was such as to cause the gravest concern to all the responsible political leaders of the country, and a few weeks after the close of the period with which we dealt in last year's report an influential attempt was made to reach some agreement between the rival views of the leading spokesmen of the two communities on the outstanding political question in issue between them, that is, the question of the joint versus the separate electorate. Readers of "India in 1926-27" will, perhaps, remember the description given at pages 15 to 19 of a meeting of Muhammadan leaders on March 20th, 1927, of the conditions which were there laid down as being necessary to the acceptance of the Joint Electorate by the Muhammadan community, and of the reception of these conditions by certain Hindu members of the Central Legislature, who discussed them at a meeting held on March 23rd. At a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Bombay in the middle of May, 1927, the Muslim leaders' proposals of March 20th were unanimously adopted subject to a few modifications which did not affect their underlying principles. Unfortunately, however, this latest development produced no immediate effect on the situation and indeed, was subsequently condemned from two opposite directions. Immediately after the passing of the resolutions, complaints were received from orthodox Hindu quarters, and suggestions were made for the calling of a special meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to call to account its Working Committee, which had piloted the adoption of the Delhi proposals through the general meeting of the Congress Committee. Later, at the end of July, twenty-seven Muslim members of the Punjab Council, headed by Malik Firoz Khan Noon, the Minister for Local Self-Government, signed a declaration in favour of the maintenance of the system of the separate electorate until it could be abandoned by common consent of both the Hindu and Muhammadan communities. They declared that Punjabi Mus-

lims do not at present want to abandon the separate electorate and they opposed the proposals made at the Delhi meeting of March the 20th. So, as we saw in the preceding chapter, relations between the two communities grew steadily more bitter and estranged throughout the summer until it seemed as though a tacit agreement had been arrived at by all sections of political opinion in India to concentrate on this one vital factor in the national life of the country. Unfortunately concentration took the shape mostly of partisanship, of the statement of communal rights and claims, and of recriminations and violently expressed charges and counter charges. One more attempt, however, was to be made to settle or, at any rate, to ameliorate inter-communal differences before the announcement of the Royal Commission came to provide a rival subject of attention and to range Hindu-Muhammadan opinion along different lines. This was the Simla Unity Conference of September, 1927, which has been discussed in the preceding chapter.

Such was the state of affairs when the Legislative Assembly met on the 18th August, 1927. Indian politics had, as it were, shrunk to this single glowing nucleus in which all other elements were fused. There had been no notable development in the general political situation, in spite of the earnest attempts of the All-India Congress Committee, first to find some way of inducing other political parties to come into the Congress fold, and secondly to square the conduct of members of the Congress Party in the legislatures, particularly in the Madras Legislative Council, with their creed as enunciated at the session of the All-India National Congress held at Gauhati in December, 1926. An appendix to last year's report contained a resolution, passed at the Gauhati Congress, in which the general policy of the Congress Party was re-affirmed. The first article in the resolution enjoined members of the party to refuse to accept Ministerships or any other offices in the gift of the Government, and to oppose the formation of ministeries by other parties, until, in the opinion of the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee, a satisfactory response had been made to the national demand. The provisions of this clause had been tacitly disobeyed by Congressmen in the Madras Council and, perhaps, in one or two other provinces also, and at its session in the middle of May, 1927, the All-India Congress Committee asked its Working Committee to demand an explanation from the

Madras Council's Congress Party for the latter's failure to throw out the ministry according to the Gauhati mandate. This explanation was to be presented at the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. Influential members of the Madras Congress Party who were present at this meeting explained that if the existing ministry had been thrown out, the Justice Party would have come back to power and would have perpetuated dyarchy. In view of these explanations, the Congress Working Committee put forth a new interpretation of the Gauhati resolution which, they said, imposed no obligation to defeat a ministry, if by doing so, the Congress Party would be strengthening the bureaucracy. The Working Committee also passed a resolution congratulating the Madras Council Congress Party on their behaviour and saying that nothing inconsistent with the Gauhati resolution had been done by them. This, however, did not please some sections of the party, and controversy regarding the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Council continued spasmodically throughout the remainder of the year. At the beginning of July an important development in the political situation appeared to be likely, for at a special session of the Non-Brahmin Federation held at Coimbatore, a resolution was unanimously adopted permitting members of the party to join the Congress to aid the spread of the ideals and aims of the Non-Brahmin movement. The practical results of this resolution, however, were slight. Thus, at the opening of the Simla session of the Indian Legislature no tangible success had attended the efforts of the Congress Party to bring about either inter-communal or inter-party unity.

The outstanding feature of the session was the discussion on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill. In last year's report the vast importance of this bill to Indian finance and currency policy was explained, and our account of the above-mentioned debate on the bill will be found in Chapter VII in which finance is treated separately. The announcement of the postponement of the Bill on September 8th made it clear that the points in issue between Sir Basil Blackett and his opponents were not going to be settled by compromise but would have to be fought out again at some other time.

Another economic measure of great importance, in regard to which acute differences between the Government and some of the opposition existed, but regarding which the Government and the right wing of the opposition, that is, the Nationalist Party, managed to come to agreement, was the Indian Tariff (Cotton Yarn Amendment) Bill. The account of the progress of this bill in the Assembly also will be discussed more appropriately in a later chapter. The bill was referred to a select committee on August 22nd, after the speeches had shown that a section of opinion in the House, which was not confined to any one party, wished to widen the scope of the bill by including a protective duty on piece-goods and also scheme for giving a bounty to the cotton industry. Another section of opinion however, was opposed to imposing any further duties in the interests of the mill-owners on necessaries of life.

A brief reference may be made here to a third bill, which was introduced during this session.

In view of the world-wide interest in the Hindu custom of child marriage which has been raised by Miss Mayo's book and the various rejoinders thereto, it is only fitting that more than passing notice should be given to a bill introduced by a non-official Hindu member on the first February and debated on September the 15th, the object of which was to regulate marriages of children amongst Hindus by prohibiting marriages of girls below the age of 12 and of boys below the age of 15. In the words of the mover—Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda—the primary object of the bill was to put a stop to child widowhood. Quoting from the last census report, that of 1921, the Rai Sahib pointed out that in the latter year there were in India "612 Hindu widows who were babies not even 12 months old, 498 between 1 and 2 years, 1,280 between 2 and 3, 2,863 between 3 and 4, and 6,758 who were between 4 and 5 years of age, making a total of 12,016 widows under 5 years of age. The number of Hindu widows between 5 and 10 years of age was 85,580 and those between 10 and 15 years, 2,33,533. The total number of widows under 10 was 97,596, and under 15 was 3,31,793. These numbers include Jain and Arya widows, for Jains and Aryas have been separately classed probably for political purposes; otherwise they are all Hindus and are governed by the same marriage laws. And if we include Brahmos and Sikhs, who are as much Hindus as the

so-called Hindus, the total number of Hindu widows under 15 was 3,32,472 in 1921. The gravity of the question will however be realised when we remember that out of every 1,000 Hindu married women, 14 are under 5 years of age, 111 below 10, and 437 under 15 years of age.* This means that a little over 11 per cent. of the Hindu women are supposed to lead a married life when they are below 10 years of age, *i.e.*, they are mere children, and that nearly 44 per cent. of them lead married lives when they are less than 15 years of age, *i.e.*, when they are not yet out of their teens and before they have attained true and full puberty and are physically utterly unfit to bear the strain of marital relations ". This, in the mover's own words, was the state of affairs which he wished to remedy. He argued that his proposal was in no way opposed to Hindu doctrine or Hindu religious law and he emphasised the beneficial effect which would be produced by the acceptance of his proposals on the health and vitality of the Hindu community. Discussion on the bill concentrated on two proposals. One of them, moved by a member of the Congress Party, recommended that it be referred to a select committee, and the second, moved by Mr. Crerar, Home Member, that it be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. One or two orthodox Hindu members voted for circulation, but the majority favoured reference to a select committee. There was general support for the principle of fixing an age limit below which a marriage would be declared void, but the orthodox opponents of the select committee motion, together with one or two official members pointed out that real progress in social reform depended on the support of enlightened public opinion. In the end, the Assembly decided to refer the bill forthwith to a select committee.

Such other important items of business as the debate on the Indianisation of the Army, on the volunteer Police Bill, on the motion for adjournment to protest against the non-representation of Indians on the Royal Commission appointed to consider the federation of certain East African Colonies, and on one or two other subjects, will be found in other chapters which deal with the matters to which they refer.

The Council of State also had an autumn session in Simla, but a shorter one than that of the Legislative Assembly. Perhaps

the most important debate which took place during this session was on the Indianisation of the Army. It followed much the same lines as the corresponding debate in the Legislative Assembly and will be found mentioned in Chapter VIII.

A resolution relating to the expulsion of Hindus from the Khyber was moved by a Sikh member from the Punjab and was ultimately withdrawn after a number of members of the Council had expressed their solicitude at the unfortunate occurrences across the Border. The debate was remarkable for an important statement by Sir Denys Bray, the Foreign Secretary, who referred to the dangers arising out of, and utter unworthiness of the blasphemous attacks which are made from time to time by members of one community in this country on the beliefs and the sacred personages of another community. Of much interest also was a debate originated by a member from Madras on the subject of Devadasis in temples. The mover wanted the practice of dedicating girls to temples to stop because he assumed that their life involved them inevitably in prostitution. Mr. S. R. Das, the Law Member, pointed out that this was not necessarily true, and those cases which were true could be satisfactorily dealt with under the terms of an Act passed a few years before, for the purpose of strengthening those sections of the Indian Penal Code which deal with the buying and selling of minors for immoral purposes. If the mover would introduce a bill or could suggest any other measure for further strengthening the law, Government would be prepared to circulate it for opinion. The reply satisfied the mover of the resolution and the permission was given to him to withdraw it. The last debate to be mentioned here was one on a resolution moved by a member of the Congress Party recommending the immediate release of all such convicted or under-trial political prisoners in Indian jails as had not been held guilty in an open trial, and of all political detenues whose trial in a court of law was not contemplated. The mover also wanted the appointment of a committee to review the cases of other political prisoners either convicted or under trial. Mr. Haig, the Home Secretary, assured the Council both that the action taken against political prisoners under detention was justified by the necessity for controlling dangerous and revolutionary conspiracies and also that effect was being given to the policy recently enunciated of releasing those prisoners whose freedom would not imperil public safety. He

pointed out also that if effect were given to this motion, the ordinary rights of individuals and the primary obligation of Government to preserve security would be affected. The Council rejected the motion by 27 votes to 14.

❦ ❦ ❦

By the end of the Simla session of the Legislature there was a growing expectation that the formation of the Statutory Commission to review the political progress of India would be announced at no distant date. As early as June, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the leaders of the old Indian Liberal Party, had raised the question of the appointment of the Commission in the public press and had protested strongly against the restriction of membership of the Commission to British members concerning which certain rumours had been circulating for some time. But until the very day of the announcement of the main interest of the public and of politicians centred in the Hindu Muhammadan troubles. We have already seen the outcome of the All-India Congress Committee's meeting at Bombay, and of the Simla Unity Conference, and we have noted the results of the second attempt of the All-India Congress Committee to find some way out of the inter-communal impasse.

But even this great subject of dispute was now about to be swallowed up in and become an element of one still greater. For, about a week after the Calcutta Unity Conference had come to an end, His Excellency the Viceroy announced the formation and composition of the Statutory Commission in a statement which was made public on November the 8th. This statement will be found reproduced as an appendix to this book and should be studied carefully by all who want to understand why Parliament decided to appoint an entirely Parliamentary Commission and also why it chose to appoint the Commission when it did. His Excellency went fully into these points at the beginning of his statement, and after showing what the task of the Commission would be, he gave a thorough exposition of the reasons which had decided His Majesty's Government to limit membership of the Commission to members of Parliament. Lord Irwin next announced that His Majesty's Government, whilst not dictating to the Commission what procedure it should follow, were of opinion that its task in

taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite a Joint Select Committee of the Central Legislature, chosen from among its non-official members, to convey its views to the Commission in any manner decided upon by the latter. Further, after the Commission had reported to His Majesty's Government, and before the latter had laid its own proposals on the report before Parliament, a full opportunity would be given for Indian opinion of different schools to give its views upon them. To this end it was intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals to a Joint Committee of both Houses and to permit delegations from the Indian Central Legislature and any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee might wish to consult, to attend and confer with the Joint Committee. After the above details of the composition and procedure of the Commission, His Excellency then explained the advantages which would accrue from such a Commission adopting such a procedure as had been outlined.

In preparation for the announcement, His Excellency the Viceroy had invited a number of the leaders of Indian political life, representing all shades of political opinion, and drawn from different communities, to explain the decision of His Majesty's Government and the reasons for it. In taking this step His Excellency was actuated by the desire to ensure that these gentlemen should be put in possession of full and accurate facts relating to the momentous decision taken by the Home Government in order that there might be no risk of their being taken by surprise and having to form their judgment on possibly misleading information. The Governors of the Provinces also interviewed the leaders of political thought and groups, as well as a few leading press representatives, in their own Provinces with the same objects in view as His Excellency Lord Irwin. The reception of the announcement, which was made simultaneously in Parliament and in India, was somewhat extraordinary, for immediately the leaders of the extreme left and the extreme right of Indian politics joined hands in denouncing the constitution of the Commission and its procedure and advocating a boycott. The attitude of the extreme left, that is, the Congress Party, had never been in any doubt, for they had declared consistently for at least two years that nothing would satisfy them but a Round Table Conference between representatives of the British Government and representatives of political India at which the subject for discussion would not be the formula-

tion of a constitution for India but merely how to implement what is generally known as the 'National Demand', that is, the demand formulated by Pandit Motilal Nehru in his amendment to the Resolution moved by Sir Alexander Muddiman in the Legislative Assembly on September 7th, 1925, to which we have referred earlier in this chapter. The extreme right, that is the section of the old Liberal or Moderate school of Indian politicians, led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who found most of his support in the Liberals of the United Provinces, Madras, and Bombay City, attacked the announcement on the ground of the exclusion of Indians from the Commission and the consequent insult, as they alleged, to India's National self-respect. But what might be called the intermediate schools of political thought, namely, those represented by the Nationalist Party in the Legislative Assembly and by the Responsivists in Bombay and elsewhere opposed the Commission, as constituted on somewhat different lines. Whilst resenting the exclusion of Indians from the Commission they were not prepared to boycott it for that reason alone, and they made it known that if the conditions on which the Indian Committees were to be associated with the Commission were satisfactory to them, they would be prepared to co-operate. This was made clear by a Joint statement issued about the middle of November of 1927 by Messrs. Jayakar, Kelkar, Aney, and Dr. Moonje, who are all members of the Legislative Assembly. The three first named are the principal leaders of the Responsive Co-operators, whilst Dr. Moonje is at present the leading spokesman of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. About a month later, at a public meeting which he addressed in Bombay, Mr. Kelkar once more defined the Responsivists' attitude towards the Commission. He was not for the immediate proclamation of a boycott, he declared, since he was opposed to any merely negative proceeding such as this. He would wait until the Statutory Commission had made it clear what their relations would be with the Committees which were to be chosen by the different legislative bodies. This attitude the Responsivists and many of the Nationalists maintained until the publication of Sir John Simon's letter of February the 6th, 1928, to which we shall come shortly, and it was re-affirmed by an interview given in New Delhi on January 21st by Mr. Jayakar who said that he would not quarrel over trifles but would be satisfied if the Central Indian Committee, sitting with the Commission as a

parallel body, were able to submit in case of disagreement a separate report to the Indian Legislative Assembly which would be forwarded by the Assembly to Parliament and be regarded as possessing equal weight and authority with the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. Apart from the Congress and the Nationalist (which includes the Responsive Co-operators) parties in the Legislative Assembly, and the Indian National Liberal Federation, the All-India Muslim League, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and the Non-Brahmin Party in the south, there are few organised political parties or schools of political thought in this country. But the Non-Brahmin or Justice Party in Madras, which has a companion in the Bombay Non-Brahmin organisation is one of the most important and powerful of all the political organisations in India. At first the attitude of these Non-Brahmin bodies towards the Commission was doubtful, and some of their leaders, in both Madras and Bombay, declared their dissatisfaction with the Commission. But as time went on this attitude changed, slowly but perceptibly, until by the end of the year under review the bulk of Non-Brahmin opinion in these two provinces had begun to be favourable to the idea of co-operation with the Commission. Muhammadan opinion did not range itself immediately either for or against the Commission. With the exception of Mr. Jinnah, no Muhammadan politician of any standing denounced the Commission and even Mr. Jinnah waited until towards the end of November before he publicly expressed his disapproval and his adherence to the boycott. The Hindu Mahasabha, again, did not express its opinion as a body some of its prominent members declared for the boycott of the Commission as at present constituted, but the next annual general meeting was not due until April, and while it was clear that a very large proportion of its members favoured the boycott it was impossible in November to know how the course of events would influence the Mahasabha's decision in the following April. It is true that a meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, held at Beneras in December under the Presidentship of Dr. Moonje, adopted a resolution urging the boycott of the Statutory Commission. Also a special meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha was called at Madras during Congress Week by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Some members of the Mahasabha attended and passed a resolution in favour of the boycott, but neither of these two meetings were

regarded as having committed the organisation as a whole to the boycott.

At first the press was almost unanimously hostile to the announcement. The Anglo-Indian press, however, accepted it and pointed out the possibilities for constructive co-operation with the Commission which the suggested procedure provided, but the Indian press was very largely against it. It should be explained that the Government of India, unlike most of the regularly constituted governments in the world, had no press of its own on which it can rely for support. As a rule the Anglo-Indian press gives general support, but any one or all of the Anglo-Indian newspapers might, and some times do, turn strongly against the Government of India in matters of the highest importance. The reason, of course, is that the Government of India is not a Government placed and kept in power by a political party whose organs are pledged to its support, and the Indian owned and controlled press is, on the whole, an opposition press.

As time went on, it became possible to distinguish through the clouds of press and platform controversy the realities of the boycott situation, and both its strength and weakness became more and more clearly apparent. Before the end of the year statements made by prominent Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal and elsewhere had made it quite clear that a strong and influential section of their community was not prepared to boycott the Commission, and it remained to be seen how large a proportion this section would be of the whole community. Except in Bombay City and the United Provinces the response from the Liberals had not given any very clear lead either in favour of or against boycott and the Responsivists and Non-Brahmins, as we have seen, were awaiting developments. But denunciations of the Commission continued to rage furiously in the press and practically all the most important leaders of the different political parties in the Legislative Assembly had pledged themselves to boycott the Commission within a few weeks of the announcement. The attitude of the great mass of the people towards the whole affair was pure apathy. This was clear at the time and it became increasingly clear month by month. The question at issue was not one which interested them and it is doubtful if more than a very small percentage have ever tried to understand it.

About six weeks after the announcement of November the 8th the annual meetings were held of the three well known political organisations—the All-India National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, and the National Liberal Federation of India.

The All-India National Congress is the oldest nationalist political organisation in India and at one time included nearly all who stood for constitutional progress and political reforms in India, although Muhammadans never had very much to do with it. Of late years, however, its representative character has been narrowed by the successive defections of the Moderate or Liberal politicians, the Responsive Co-operators, and, generally, all who do not believe in merely obstructing and trying to wreck the existing constitution. The 1927 session of the All-India National Congress was the 42nd since the birth of the Congress, and opened on December the 26th. The President this year was Dr. Ansari, one of the old Non-co-operators, who had consistently held aloof from the Legislatures and from political parties. For the first time since the decay of the Non-co-operation movement, and the consequent deterioration in inter-communal relations, a Muhammadan had been chosen as president of Congress. This, in combination with the obvious desirability from the point of view of those who supported the boycott of the Simon Commission, of trying to bring Muslims and Hindus together in united opposition to the Commission caused the subject of Hindu-Muhammadan relations to come right to the front during this session of the Congress. It occupied the central part of the President's speech and led to the "Unity Resolution" which, as we have seen, was accepted by the Congress. There is no need, therefore, to go any further into this part of the proceedings of the 1927 Session. The very great importance attached to the introduction and passing of the Resolution this year should not, however, be forgotten.

It was a foregone conclusion that the Congress would declare for the boycott of the Simon Commission and the Resolution in which the declaration is embodied laid down that the Commission should be boycotted "at every stage and in every form", that mass demonstrations should be organised throughout India, that vigorous propaganda should be carried on to make the boycott effective and successful, and that elected members of all legislative bodies should refuse to help the Commission and should abstain from attending meetings of the legislatures except for certain

specified purposes such as opposing any measure detrimental to the interests of India. Part of the Resolution called upon the people and on all Congress organisations to organise mass demonstrations on the day of the arrival of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, and similar demonstrations in the different cities which they were to visit.

The most spectacular part of the Congress proceedings, however, was the passing of a Resolution declaring that the goal of the Indian people was complete national independence. This Resolution, however, was carried only after considerable opposition. It was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru, the son of the leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly. The mover, who had recently arrived in India from Russia, addressed the delegates as "comrades" and took an important part in all the proceedings of the Session. But although this Resolution was the most spectacular part of the Congress proceedings, it fell flat in the country at large, and was quickly regarded by the more responsible sections of public opinion as little more than the freak of a few young men. At any rate, the leaders of the Congress Party apparently did not adhere to it, and during the course of certain discussions on the status of the Indian wing of the Statutory Commission Pandit Motilal Nehru stated that his goal was dominion status for India.

Some preliminary explanation is necessary before we turn to the meeting of the All-India Muslim League. A little earlier in this chapter we said that important sections of the Punjabi and Bengali Muslims had decided to co-operate with the Commission, and at a meeting of the Executive of the Muslim League, Sir Muhammad Shafi, one of the most influential Muslims in all India, and at one time a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, had been chosen as President of this year's session. At the same meeting it was decided to hold the session in Lahore. We said also that Mr. Jinnah had declared for the boycott of the Commission. Mr. Jinnah it was who revived the League in December 1924 after a period of quiescence, and he continued to be one of its dominating personalities. It was inevitable, therefore, that there should be a clash of some sort between him and Sir Muhammad Shafi. Mr. Jinnah and his supporters wanted the annual session to take place elsewhere than in Lahore, whereas Sir Muhammad Shafi wanted it to take place in Lahore. At a special meeting of

the Council of the All-India Muslim League held in Delhi in December, it was decided by a small majority that the session should take place in Calcutta. Many Punjab and Bengal members of the League, however, disputed the legality of this decision, and in the end Sir Muhammad Shafi definitely refused to preside over the session in Calcutta. In the upshot, two separate sessions were held, one in Lahore under the presidentship of Sir Muhammad Shafi, and the other in Calcutta under the presidentship of Maulvi Muhammad Yakoob, Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly.

The Lahore session of the League was held on December, the 31st and January 1st, Sir Muhammad Shafi presiding. At this session a Resolution was passed inviting the leaders of all non-Muslim communities to co-operate with the Muslim League with a view to preparing jointly a draft constitution for India for presentation to the Statutory Commission or the British Parliament. Other resolutions were passed unanimously advocating separate electorates, the separation of Sind from Bombay, and the extension of Reforms to the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. An all-India committee consisting of thirty members was formed to draw up a constitution and to discuss it with other bodies in India.

The Calcutta session was held on the 30th and 31st of December and the 1st of January. The Statutory Commission was the chief topic of discussion, and a resolution in favour of boycotting it was passed. A Hindu-Muslim unity resolution, on the lines of that passed at the Madras session of the Indian National Congress, was also carried, with the modification that though separate electorates were considered inevitable in the present circumstances, Muslims would be prepared to abandon them in favour of Joint electorates with a reservation of seats, but only on condition that Sind was constituted into a separate autonomous province, and that reforms were granted to the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

The tenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India opened in Bombay on December 27th. The presidential speech was delivered by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who said that the Liberal Party must repudiate not only the Commission but the entire spirit in which the question of India's further advance has been approached by Parliament. Another prominent Liberal,

Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad said that whilst Liberals could not take part in the present scheme they were prepared to consider any fresh proposals put forward by the Government. Throughout the session, the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission was referred to in terms of strong condemnation. Before they dispersed, the Liberal delegates passed a resolution declaring their opinion that the constitution of the Commission was unacceptable because it denied the right of the Indian people to participate on equal terms in framing the future constitution of their country, and they recommended that the legislative bodies and the public throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form.



By the beginning of 1928 the opposition to the Statutory Commission had reached its full strength and it was far from amounting to a complete boycott. Most of the better known political leaders of the country had declared for non-co-operation with the Commission on any terms as far as Congress leaders were concerned, and on the terms as announced on November the 8th as far as others were concerned—but, if there was a good deal of opposition to the Commission, there was also a good deal of support for it, whilst such important sections of political opinion as those represented by the Justice Party in Madras, the Responsive Co-operators, and the Liberals in various parts of India away from Bombay and the United Provinces, were still waiting on events. Muhammadan opinion was steadily hardening in favour of co-operation with the Commission. There was never any doubt from the beginning about the attitude of the large number of depressed classes, and at the meeting of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference held at the end of February, 1928, in Delhi, under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, a member of the Legislative Assembly, it was decided to put the claims of the Depressed Classes before the Commission. The strong Sikh community except for a minority of extremists, had also given signs of a desire to put its case before the Commission, and shortly after Sir John Simon's arrival in India, a general meeting of the Central Sikh Association resolved to send him a message of welcome on behalf of the Association. The Working Committee of the Central Association was at the same meeting authorised to make the necessary arrangements

for the presentation of the Sikh case to the Statutory Commission. Various other communities or religious organisations had also shown a desire to co-operate, and in fact, the different political parties, bodies, and sections of opinion were still approaching their final positions. The arrival of Sir John Simon and his colleagues was awaited with considerable eagerness, for it was felt that much depended on his statement of the procedure which he intended to adopt as regards the work of the Commission, and, in particular, as regards the Indian bodies which would be attached to it.

By the end of January, 1928, what we called earlier in this chapter, the spectrum of Indian politics, had almost arranged itself. Generally speaking, minority communities, depressed classes or other classes, who wanted their position to be improved or made more secure, important business interests and so on, had either ranged themselves on the side of the Statutory Commission or were obviously moving towards that position. Of certain provinces it was already possible to say that their Councils would decide for co-operation with the Commission, of others it could be said that the chances were in favour of their so deciding, whilst the attitude of others was more doubtful. The head and fount of the boycott movement were, as we have seen, certain All-India political parties in the Legislative Assembly and their leaders together with Congress organisations all over India, and Liberal Organisations in certain provinces. The root and branch boycotters were comprised within the fold of the Congress Party. Other parties were prepared to drop the boycott on certain terms.



It was in these circumstances that the Delhi session of the Legislature began on February the 1st, 1928. It will be remembered that the All-India National Congress had decided in the Madras session in the previous December, that elected members of all legislative bodies should abstain from attending meetings of the legislatures except for certain specified purposes, such as opposing any measure detrimental to the interests of India. In compliance with this decision, members of the Congress Party had kept aloof from some sittings of those provincial legislatures which had met since December, and the attitude of Congress members of the Legislative Assembly was for a time doubtful. They attended the opening meetings of the Assembly in order to oppose Sir Basil

Blackett's Reserve Bank Bill, but were absent when less important topics were being discussed. However, many of them felt that it was dangerous to keep away from any meetings of the Assembly, and on the 11th of February, detailed instructions were issued by the Congress Working Committee with regard to the work in the legislatures. The object of these instructions was to reduce participation in the activities of these bodies to a minimum. The Budget and other financial proposals were to be opposed directly or by way of amendment. Adjournment motions might be moved with reference to the Statutory Commission, or any extraordinary occurrences, or any repressive action by the authorities. No resolutions were to be moved except in regard to the Statutory Commission, and no bills were to be introduced or supported. At any rate, from very early in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly during this session, members of the Congress Party were found in their seats, and they occupied them throughout the session when business of any importance was before the House.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly on February 2nd. His speech was a striking appeal for co-operation and a closely reasoned argument against the boycott. The statement of November the 8th, he said, had outlined the proposed procedure at its various stages and had indicated broadly the lines on which His Majesty's Government hoped to unite the best efforts of the chosen representatives of India and Great Britain in the wise ordering of India's future. Within the general framework laid down in the announcement, the Commission had been left with full discretion as to the methods by which they would seek to accomplish their task. His Excellency reminded his hearers that the Commission was due to arrive in India the next day, not it is true, on its formal mission but with the hardly less important object of enabling its members to acquaint themselves with the general working of the Legislative and Administrative machines, and to hold informal consultations for the purpose of determining the most appropriate means of discharging the responsibilities which Parliament had laid upon them. His Excellency said that the scheme had been criticised and condemned by those who spoke for important sections of Indian opinion, and, on the other hand, large and powerful communities had declared themselves in favour both of the constitution of the Commission and of the general procedure which had been devised, and

had expressed their readiness to help it. His Excellency admitted that differences of opinion could fairly exist on the question of whether His Majesty's Government had chosen the best way of associating Indian opinion with the Commission, but no honest controversialist was at liberty to say that His Majesty's Government had not sought very full and very unprecedented means of placing Indians in a position to take an ample share with the Commission in the political evolution of their country. His Excellency doubted whether critics of the scheme had reflected upon what was implicit in the idea of associating select committees of the central and provincial legislatures with the Commission. These would be associated with the Commission in the earlier stages of its enquiry through the procedure which the Commission, after placing themselves fully in touch with Indian opinion, might consider best calculated to enable them to discharge the duty which had been entrusted to them. In due time the Commission would complete its task, and, as it moved from the stage, the Indian central Legislature had the greatest and most powerful means of influencing the further current of events through its chosen representatives sitting with Parliament itself, which in its turn would act through its own Joint Select Committee. Was it not fair, then, to conclude that both the Joint Parliamentary Committee and, earlier, the Commission, each being masters within wide limits of their own procedure, would desire to go to the furthest possible point to carry along with them the convinced assent of the representatives of India? To suggest that in these circumstances the effect of this association of Indian opinion with the Commission would be no greater than what might be associated with the role of witnesses, was to advance a proposition which no political opinion would support. At both stages visualised by the procedure the quality of her representatives would be a matter of supreme importance to India and His Excellency said that he could not conceive of any way in which Parliament could have given a more clear indication of its desire both to give full weight to Indian opinion and to recognise the dignity and position of the Indian Legislature. Constitutional forms, said Lord Irwin, were nothing but instruments. "And as men are greater than the instruments they use, we gravely err if we suppose that complaint, however loud, of the tools, which circumstance has placed in our hands, will suffice to induce posterity to hold us guiltless, if in the result our workmanship whether

through lack of will or of capacity is found wanting. I dare predict that the searching inquest of history will not fail to return judgment against those who sought to use their power to hinder when it was in their power to help." His Excellency next dealt with the charge which had been loudly made in certain quarters that the exclusion of Indians from the Commission was an insult to Indian self-respect. His Excellency admitted that the wisdom or unwisdom of excluding Indians was a question on which every man was entitled to his own opinion. "But what no man is entitled to say—for it is quite simply not true—is that His Majesty's Government sought to offer a deliberate affront to Indian honour and Indian pride." Continuing, His Excellency said that he had spoken plainly on these misunderstandings because they had been represented by some as a justification for abstaining from taking part in the enquiry which was about to be set on foot. "I feel * * * a profound and growing conviction that those who would argue that such abstention will do no harm to the cause of India are dangerously deluding themselves and others." Turning next to those who wholly deny the moral right of Parliament to be tribunal in this cause, His Excellency said, "Let nobody suppose that he is assisting the realisation of his ideals by reluctance to look on facts as they are. It is in no spirit of argument or lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations that I repeat that India, if she desires to secure Parliamentary approval to political change, must persuade Parliament that such change is wisely conceived, and likely to benefit those affected by it. She has now the opportunity of making her persuation felt, through the means of the Commission * * * * established with the assent and co-operation of all British parties. They will carry through their enquiry with, it is hoped, the generous assistance of all shades of Indian opinion. But whether such assistance is offered or withheld, the enquiry will proceed, and a report will be presented to Parliament on which Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate." Lord Irwin next drew the attention of his hearers to the spontaneous good will towards India with which the speeches of responsible spokesmen of every party in Parliament were instinct. These, he earnestly hoped, would not be lightly set aside, as this good will would be a factor of immense importance in determining the attitude of Parliament. An agitation fostered and promoted by methods which had led to grave occurrences in the past was

bound to breed serious misgivings in the minds of the British Parliament. The effect of a boycott could not be calculated but must obviously interpose obstacles to the discovery of that more excellent way of mutual understanding which the best friends of India well knew to be requisite for her orderly evolution to nationhood. In conclusion, His Excellency said: "I do not know whether I am sanguine in hoping that even at this hour it may be that words of mine might induce some of those, who aspire to guide their fellow-countrymen in India, to desist from a line of action, which at the best can only lead to negative results and disappointment, and may at the worst bring consequences of which India is unhappily not without experience. But in any case I feel it to be no less incumbent upon me now to state what I believe to be the truth in this matter than I lately judged it to be my duty to direct the attention of India to the communal antagonisms, that threatened the destruction of any attempts to build an Indian nation. The counsel I then gave was, I am glad to think, regarded as that of a well-wisher, sincerely desirous of assisting India. But the counsel of a friend must be independent of what at any particular moment some of those whom he addresses may desire to hear, and if that which I now give is less universally certain of acceptance, it is not less dictated by my desire to dissuade India, as I verily believe, from mistaking the path at one of the cross roads of her destiny."



On the day after this speech was delivered, the members of the Statutory Commission landed at Bombay. It will be remembered that among the resolutions passed at the session of the All-India National Congress in December, was one urging a nation-wide hartal—that is, the closing of shops, and general abstention from business—on the day when the Commission landed in India, and also hartal in every place visited by the Commission. Great preparations had been made by Congress organisations all over the country to bring all business and public activities to a standstill on February the 3rd, but the results were incommensurate with the preparations. In Bombay itself the hartal was a great disappointment to its promoters, and had it not been for the crowds of students and schoolboys, there would have been hardly any demonstrations at all at the Ballard Pier, where the Commission landed. The

work of the police courts went on as usual, and municipal employees were hardly affected by the agitation only a tiny percentage of them absenting themselves from work. Such demonstration as there was passed off peaceably.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Madras and Calcutta where the demonstrators met with hardly any success and tried to bring about a stoppage of business and other activities, especially transport, by force. In Madras a huge crowd mobbed tram cars and private persons and gathered in great numbers outside the High Court where work was going on as usual. They quickly got out of control at the High Court, and in order to save the building and persons inside it the police had to open fire, injuring a number of men of whom two afterwards died. Some policemen also were injured during the day. In Calcutta most of the trouble on February 3rd was caused by college students and some rowdies, who tried to prevent motor buses and tram cars from plying. The students of the Presidency College assaulted their Principal and came into conflict with the police, of whom a number were injured. Fortunately no deaths occurred as result of this rioting. Elsewhere the day passed off peaceably and reports from all over India showed that the Hartal was a very half-hearted affair in most places where it took place, whilst many important cities were not affected by it in any way. There was no hartal of any sort in Rangoon and in Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab, the shops were even decorated as for a public festival, and the Deputy Commissioner on going into the city was welcomed enthusiastically and garlanded by the shopkeepers. In fact, it was quite clear from the events of February the 3rd that there was no popular feeling behind the hartal and that hardly any demonstrations of any sort would have taken place but for the hard work and organisation of the local Congress bodies in different parts of India.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues came straight through from Bombay to Delhi, where they arrived on February 4th. The local Congress workers in Delhi had organised a demonstration, which may be taken as typical of those which afterwards greeted the members of the Commission in other places. Some two hundred people from the city collected outside the railway station, some of them carrying placards and banners bearing the legend "Simon Go Back". That a large percentage of the demonstrators had only a hazy idea of what they were there for, was shewn by the fact

that they cheered Sir John Simon and his colleagues as they drove away. There is no need to describe in detail the experiences of the Commission in the many different places which they visited. From Delhi they went on to Calcutta, then to Madras and other places in the Madras Presidency and North again to Lahore and one or two other places in the Punjab. Practically everywhere they encountered a mixed reception. There were large numbers to welcome them and there were also crowds with placards and flags bearing the usual exhortation to the Commission to return. Sir John Simon himself summed up the experiences of the Commission in this preliminary visit to India in his farewell message, which he gave as he left Bombay on March 31st. "The preliminary visit of the Commission" he said, " . . . . . was undertaken for the purpose of appreciating on the spot . . . . . . the principal problems with which we shall be concerned and for inviting the co-operation of all those who are sincerely working for the future welfare and prosperity of the country . . . . . We have established personal contact with all communities and classes in various parts of India."

In addition to their formal visits to the places included in their itinerary, the Commission paid surprise visits to villages so as to acquire first-hand information regarding rural conditions.



We have seen that the winter session of the Indian legislature had begun by the time the Statutory Commission reached Delhi, and we have also seen that most of the more important leaders of the Legislative Assembly were pledged to boycott the Commission. The leaders carried the boycott of the Commission in its official capacity even to the length of boycotting its members socially, and, therefore, Sir John and his colleagues were unable to come into contact with them. They did, however, meet a number of important persons, and received deputations from various communal and political bodies, on the invitation of its President, they watched the Council of State work, but an unfortunate misunderstanding, which was rectified when Sir John Simon returned to Delhi in March, prevented their being invited to the Legislative Assembly. The invitation was, however, extended in March and Sir John and one or two of his colleagues, who were present in Delhi, attended one of the sittings of the Assembly.

Within a very short time of his arrival at Delhi, Sir John Simon issued his long and eagerly awaited announcement regarding the procedure which he proposed to follow. This he communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy in a letter dated February 6th, which was made public on February the 7th. Briefly, Sir John Simon proposed that the Commission should take the form of a "Joint Free Conference" over which he should preside, and which should consist of the seven British Commissioners and a corresponding body of representatives chosen by the Indian Legislatures, just as the British members had been chosen by the British Parliament. All the material prepared by the Government of India and the provincial governments for submission to the Commission and the evidence given in explanation or amplification of this material should come before the Joint Free Conference. Sir John explained that he and his colleagues put forward the plan of a Joint Free Conference not only because they would welcome the assistance of colleagues from the Indian legislatures, but because they thought it only wise and fair, and in the truest interests of India and Great Britain alike, that opportunity should be provided for the memoranda and testimony referred to above to be scrutinized, and, if necessary, elucidated from the Indian side on free and equal terms. They suggested, therefore, that the two Houses of the Indian Legislature should be asked in due course to choose a Joint Committee, who might conveniently be seven in number, and that each Provincial Legislative Council should be asked to constitute a similar body. The Indian part of the Conference would consist, when central subjects were being discussed, of the Joint Committee of the Central Legislature, and when provincial subjects were being discussed, of the Committee chosen from the Council of the province concerned. But in order to enable the Joint Committee of the Central Legislature to acquire a full view of the proceedings, arrangements could be made by which its members, or some of them, would be present as an additional element at provincial sittings.

The letter then proceeded to deal with two other important questions, first, the question of evidence other than that submitted by the Central and Provincial Governments as described above, and secondly, the question of Report. Regarding the first question, the letter said that the members of the Commission had had much experience in Joint Conferences, as applied to both industrial and

political questions, and they realised that one side of the Conference might occasionally want to meet by itself. Normally the evidence from public and representative bodies and from individuals would be given to the Conference as a whole, just as evidence prepared or on behalf of the various governments would be. Sir John Simon explained that if a case should arise when this general plan could not be followed, he would make no secret of it and would ask his colleagues in the Joint Free Conference when, as he hoped, they had learnt to have faith in his sense of fairness, to accept such an account of the matter as he could give them on behalf of the Commission, and he imagined that the Indian side might find occasions when they would think it well to act in the same way.

In dealing with the question of Report, Sir John took the opportunity of restating the functions of the Commission and its place in the general scheme which was announced in the previous November. "The Commission," he said, "is in no sense an instrument either of the Government of India or of the British Government, but enters on the duty laid upon it by the King-Emperor as a completely independent and unfettered body composed of members of Parliament who approach Indian legislators as colleagues. It is not an executive or legislating body authorised to pronounce decisions about the future government of India. Before these decisions can be reached, the full process, of which the present investigation is a first step, must be completed, including the opportunity for the views of the Indian Legislature, amongst other bodies, being presented by delegations in London to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The present Commission is only authorised to report and make recommendations, and in this Report we desire to include a faithful account of the opinions and aspirations prevalent in India, and of the concrete proposals for constitutional reform so far as these are put before us. The British Commissioners, therefore, are bound to be solely responsible for the statement of the effect upon their own minds of the investigation as a whole. We shall report to the authority by which we have been constituted just as (if the Conference is set up) the Joint Committee would, we presume, be entitled to report its conclusions to the Central Legislature. It is obvious that those documents should be prepared and presented simultaneously. There are well known constitutional means by which the document emanating from the Joint Committee and presented to the Central Legislature can be forwarded to and

made available for the British Parliament. But, if the Indian Joint Committee would prefer it, we would make its Report an annexe to our own document, so that both might be presented to the King-Emperor, and made public at the same moment.

Above all, I would urge that one of the merits of the method of Joint Conference is that besides securing due recognition of equal status, it provides the opportunity for that free exchange of views and mutual influence which are best calculated to promote the largest measure of agreement that is possible."

At the end of his letter Sir John Simon explained that he made these suggestions public at this early date, not only to clear the air, but in order to show that the Commission were available for any conference about any matters of procedure which the present statement did not adequately cover. In conclusion, Sir John pointed out that the Commission was bound to carry out its work in any event, and to discharge to the full the duty cast upon it, but he wanted it to be known that they were undertaking this duty only after having shown that the method of collaboration on honourable and equal terms was open. He and his colleagues were confident that in making these proposals they were correctly interpreting the intentions of the British Parliament.

On two subsequent occasions Sir John Simon issued statements amplifying certain points in his letter of February the 6th. The first of these was contained in a letter addressed by him on February the 10th to Sir Sankaran Nair, a prominent member of the Council of State. In this document, Sir John pointed out that whilst discretion would rest with him to decide to what extent separate sittings of the Commission should take place, he hoped that such occasions would be few, and he said that he would certainly regard them as exceptions to the main scheme. Later, on March 29th, on the eve of his departure from India, Sir John addressed a letter to the Viceroy in which he said that he thought that it would be useful to clear up two points of possible ambiguity which had been brought to the notice of the Commission in the provinces during the course of their preliminary visit. They had been asked whether a provincial committee, after the close of its sitting with the Commission in the province, would have the opportunity of summarising its own views in a report which the Commission might consider before arriving at their own conclusions. Sir John announced that if any provincial committee furnished a report to the Commission

in time, full consideration would be given to this document and it would be included in the appendices which would be printed and presented to Parliament. Secondly, it had been pointed out that the necessity of the Commission's passing from one province to another in accordance with the pre-arranged time-table might result in placing one province at a disadvantage as compared with another. A province which was visited early in the itinerary might suffer because its committee had conferred with the Commission before certain matters which might emerge at later stages of the tour, had become prominent. The Commission found that there was force in this criticism and they would be glad to arrange after they had been round the provinces, and before they finally left India, to meet representatives from each of the provincial committees, if the latter so desired, in order to hear from them their final views or to confer with them on any outstanding matters which seemed to require treatment by this means.



The response made to the letter of February 6th by the political leaders assembled in Delhi for the Legislative Session was most disappointing. Within two or three hours of its issue they had met and issued the following statement. "We have most carefully considered the line of procedure indicated in the statement of Sir John Simon issued to-day. But our objections to the Commission as constituted, and the scheme as announced, are based on principles which remain unaffected by it. In the circumstances we must adhere to our decision that we cannot have anything to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form." This statement was signed by two or three well known Non-co-operators and by prominent men in the Congress, Nationalist, and Independent Parties in the Assembly. It is clear that they had not had time fully to discuss so important a document containing such weighty proposals, and the wording and brevity of their statement is clear proof of this. It is obvious that it had to be got out in a hurry in order to reach the newspapers at the same time as the Commission's proposals, so as to forestall its possibly favourable effect on public opinion. This object, in fact, was achieved, and the Commission's proposed procedure did not produce immediately the effect which had been hoped, although subsequent events have shown that it has exercised a profound influence on Indian opinion and has done much to bring

about a more favourable situation than existed at the time of its publication.

In the meantime, however, the announcement formed one element—a very important one it is true—in the general situation as regards the Statutory Commission. With the Indian Legislature now in session, it was, of course, inevitable that the attitude of Indian political opinion towards the Commission should be tested, as far as it could be tested, in the Legislature. In each of the two Houses the issue came up on resolutions introduced by non-official members. The first of these resolutions to be discussed was a hostile one and was moved in the Legislative Assembly by Lala Lajpat Rai, a Punjab member, on February the 16th. Briefly, the resolution declared that the constitution and scheme of the Statutory Commission were wholly unacceptable to the House, and that the Legislative Assembly would have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. A counter proposition was put forward by Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, a prominent Muhammadan from the Punjab, a member of the ruling family of Malerkotla State and leader of the Central Muhammadan Party in the Assembly, whose resolution declared that the procedure outlined by the Statutory Commission merited favourable consideration by the Assembly. At the beginning of the debate the President ruled that it should be confined to the above resolution and counter resolution. Lala Lajpat Rai said that he opposed the Statutory Commission because he had no faith in the *bonâ fides* of those who had appointed it, and the ignorance of Indian conditions from which its members suffered was their greatest disqualification for the duties assigned to them. The problem which the Commission was about to tackle was one to be settled by negotiation and agreement between the parties concerned. Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan referred to the difficulties of choosing Indians who could represent the whole of India, divided as the latter was, by so many different classes and communities. The entire abstention of certain party leaders from the work of the Commission was nothing more than the bankruptcy of statesmanship. Minority communities, he said, could not get their rights conceded by majority communities. At any rate, minorities in India could have confidence in the Commission because they could feel that it would do them justice. Mr. Crerar, Home Member, was the next to speak. He appealed to the Assembly for a dispassionate consideration of the issue before it, and strongly stressed its immense impor-

tance. He regarded it as axiomatic that the final decision in this great transaction must rest with the British Parliament. He reminded the House that they were engaged in a clear-cut debate which called for decision and action, and quoting Lord Acton he said that they must avoid the error of making the splendour of words do duty for realities. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had partly succeeded and partly failed, although Mr. Crerar himself considered that there had been more success than failure. There was nothing, he thought, to justify a counsel of despair. He deprecated the hasty and unceremonious rejection of the scheme contained in a considered and well weighed document, drawn up by one of the most eminent of British statesmen, and said that the opposition had taken this action because they did not wish the document to be judged in the light of reason. In a weighty passage he showed how various conferences, which had been held from time to time, had failed to settle such problems of prime importance as those of the electoral system and the distribution of provincial areas, and he asked his hearers whether it would not be wise to collaborate in the new expedient now offered by the Statutory Commission. He warned the Assembly that the new constitution would be judged by the security which it offered to minorities, and he concluded by appealing to the House not to run the risk of losing this great opportunity which might not recur. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, one of the leaders of the Congress Party in the Assembly, took the line that the Commission was a deliberate affront to the Indian people, that there was absolute unanimity for the boycott, and that the minorities which the Government wished to protect were not Indian minorities but Euorpean commercial and official groups. Sir Darcy Lindsay, leader of the European group, declared that Sir John Simon's letter had met the whole substance of the demands made by certain leaders of the more moderate sections of the boycotters. Mr. Jayakar, leader of the Responsive Co-operator's group, denied that their views had been met. Mian Shah Nawaz and Sardar Muhammed Nawaz Khan, two Muslim members from the Punjab, stated the Muslim point of view clearly and declared for co-operation with the Commission because it was a tribunal which they could trust. Mr. Jinnah did not challenge the right of the British Parliament to pass legislation, but he wanted Indians to have equal status and equal powers with their British colleagues and an equal share in the investigation. Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, who had been nominated to the Assembly

to represent the Depressed Classes of India, welcomed the Commission because his helpless community would get justice from it.

As the debate had not come to an end when the House adjourned on the 16th, it was resumed at the next sitting on February the 18th. The most important speakers on this second day were Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member, Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, Member for Industries and Labour, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Leader of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Sir Basil Blackett stressed evolutionary element in politics and pointed out that the very existence of the Legislative Assembly, in which the present debate was taking place, was an evidence of the earnestness of the British Government in the matter of Indian political development. He warned the opposition frankly that the tyranny of their most extreme section was preventing the liberty of conscience and was incompatible with the development of democratic institutions in India. Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra referring to his long record of service under the Crown said that his views proceeded from sturdy optimism, and he asked the opposition not to pursue any negative policy but to try to establish contact with Sir John Simon and secure for India the best advantage they could out of what many of them no doubt considered a very bad business. Pandit Motilal Nehru said that the failure of the Government to respond to the national demand of 1925 has made all parties outside the Congress join the latter in now demanding full responsible government. The matter now under discussion was not really one of judging how the Reforms would work but of deciding the policy that was to be pursued towards India and he pointed out that it was futile to endeavour to reconcile Indian opinion when Indian and British interests clash. Pandit Motilal Nehru declared that the resolution was not negative but was a positive assertion that an equal number of Indians must be appointed to the Commission by His Majesty the King before Indians would co-operate. At the end of the day's debate the division was taken on the main resolution, which was declared carried by 68 votes to 62. Hardly had this result been declared when a reporter of a nationalist daily newspaper in Delhi threw an attaché case down from the press gallery on to Sir Basil Blackett's head. Sir Basil was partially stunned for a moment but happily suffered no permanent injury. His assailant explained that his misdeed was meant as a reply to

the speech delivered at Doncaster a few days previously by Lord Birkenhead.



This very narrow defeat in the second biggest division in the history of the Legislative Assembly encouraged the supporters of the Commission to hope that the decision would be reversed when the same question came up for discussion by the Council of State. The occasion came on February the 22nd when two non-official motions urging the Government of India to appoint a committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission were moved. The first of these was a resolution by Mr. P. C. Desika Chari, member for a Burmese constituency, who asked that the members of the committee should be given equal status with the members of the Statutory Commission including the right to hear evidence taken in camera. To this resolution an amendment was moved by Sir Manekji Dadabhoy limiting the scope of the Committee to the procedure contained in Sir John Simon's letters to the Viceroy and to Sir Sankaran Nair. Neither of these two speeches took very much objection to the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission, but some of the opposition speeches expressed very great resentment. Mr. Chari's point of view was that as it was not practical politics to achieve the freedom of India by revolution, Indians should, by intelligent co-operation with Parliament, obtain full control of their own Government. He appealed to the Government of India to help in removing any embarrassing restrictions which stood in the way of honourable co-operation. Sir Manekji Dadabhoy recalled the advice given by Messrs. Tilak and Gokhale years before when earlier reforms had been granted and this was "take what you can get and fight for more." Sir Manekji could not see how Sir John Simon could have gone any farther than he had, and he advised his countrymen not to throw away a golden opportunity because of resentment at an imaginary insult. Sir Sankaran Nair, once a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, advocated the appointment of a committee because it could not be denied that Parliament was the final arbiter in this matter, and because the formation of a committee would give Indian politicians a superb chance of putting forth their views not only to the British Parliament but to the whole civilised world. Sir Sankaran Nair recapitulated the chief arguments which had been used in support

of the boycotter's case and showed that they could also be regarded as convincing reasons why the committee should be appointed. Sir Phiroze Sethna, from Bombay, strongly opposed the proposal to appoint a committee and referred to the recent vote in the Legislative Assembly as the vote of thinking India. The exclusion of Indians from the Commission was meant to take away from them the rights of citizenship in the Empire and lower them to the position of mere petitioners. He appealed to the Government to remove the causes of complaint before it was too late. Sir Arthur Froom, speaking for the Europeans in the Council, laid much stress on the difficulties which would have arisen from the formation of a mixed commission of Indians and British.

The Government reply to the debate was made by Mr. Haig, Home Secretary to the Government of India, who, in urging acceptance of Sir Manekji Dadabhoy's proposition, said that the scheme provided for the very close participation of India's representatives in the vital enquiry which was about to be undertaken. By voting for it the Council would give a lead to the great body of opinion which lay submerged beneath the political clamour. The Commission was the epitome of the British people and all three parties in Parliament, had agreed to accept the scheme now before the House. A practical solution of the Hindu-Muslim question could be reached by representatives of both communities meeting the Statutory Commission and helping it to arrive at a genuine agreement which would carry great weight. No scheme drafted by India could be established without its being examined by the great constitutional instrument which Parliament had devised and which was now in operation. When they were dealing with the future of a great country they should hesitate before allowing their conduct to be dictated by any feelings of resentment due to misapprehensions which Sir John Simon's letter had already cleared.

In the end the resolution, as amended by Sir Manekji Dadabhoy, was carried by 34 votes to 13.



Both in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State the right of Parliament to give the final decision in Indian political and constitutional affairs was practically unchallenged, and opposition speeches concentrated mainly on the subordinate position assigned to Indians by the scheme, and, to a lesser degree,

on the alleged affront to Indian self-respect. It was evident that the constructive part of the scheme, as set forth in the announcement of November the 8th, and as amplified by Sir John Simon's letter of February the 6th to the Viceroy and his later letter to Sir Sankaran Nair, had not received sufficient examination, or, at any rate, had not been examined with the critical impartiality which it deserved. We have already analysed the currents of opinion for and against the Commission as far as such a process is possible at the end of March 1928, and it is obvious that the decisions of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature had introduced no new element into the situation. The division of opinion revealed in them was as it existed in the country outside.



The discussion on the Statutory Commission was the pivot of the whole session in the Central Legislature and more particularly in the Legislative Assembly. As we have said, earlier in this report, the feeling engendered in this matter permeated everything which came up for discussion and determined the attitude adopted towards it. The winter session of 1928 was a long and crowded one and included items of business second in importance only to that which we have been discussing. The Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, the Indian Navy Bill, the decisions of His Majesty's Government and the Indian Government on the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report, all came under discussion during the session and their fortunes are traced in other parts of this Report. It would be wearisome to enter into the other work of the session in detail, and no attempt, therefore, to do so will be made. Legislation on a variety of subjects, economic, legal, and social, was either introduced or passed, and one or two resolutions came up for discussion. Of these latter, one will be discussed here, because of its general interest. This was a resolution moved on February the 23rd by Mr. Jayakar, leader of the Responsive Co-operator group, who wanted the Assembly to recommend to the Governor General in Council that directions be issued to all provincial governments to provide special facilities for the education of the untouchable and other depressed classes and also that all public services, especially the police, be opened to them. Lala Lajpat Rai wanted to add to the resolution a rider urging the grant of a crore of rupees for the education of the depressed classes and

their admission to all wells, streets, roads, and institutions which were financed wholly by public funds. He also desired the preparation of list of untouchables and others who are not untouchables but who are at present included under the head of depressed classes in Government records. In replying for the Government, Mr. Bajpai, Secretary in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, expressed the fullest sympathy with the objects of the resolution and gave figures which showed that since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms considerable progress had been made in the education of the depressed classes. The number of scholars belonging to this class had risen since the reforms from 295,000 to 667,000, whilst the number of scholars belonging to other classes had increased by only 33 per cent. He pointed out that Central Revenues could not now be spent on the education of these classes because education was a provincial transferred subject. He, however, offered to send the proceedings of the House to Provincial Governments along with the broad points which had emerged from the debate. Lala Lajpat Rai's amendment was rejected by the House, and Mr. Jayakar's resolution was amended so as to recommend that the Government " issue directions to all Provincial Governments to provide special facilities for the education of untouchables and other depressed classes, particularly by reserving seats in teacher's training classes for them and also for opening all public services to them."

As is well known, a good deal of the winter session of the Indian Legislature is occupied by the presentation and discussion of the Railway and General Budgets. The contents of these two budgets fall for discussion in the Chapter dealing with the finances of India and will, therefore, be ignored by us for the present. The general debate on the budgets, and the debates on motions for particular grants in connection with them, provide opportunities for a comprehensive survey or criticism by the members of the Legislature of the work of the Railway Board and of the doings of the Government in the general administration of the country, an opportunity of which the members make the fullest use.

The Railway Budget was presented on February the 20th, and the 22nd was allotted for its general discussion. The 22nd, however, was the day on which the Statutory Commission debate took place in the Council of State, and naturally enough this proved a powerful counter-attraction to the doings in their own

House for many of the members of the Legislative Assembly. A somewhat listless debate was carried on in the morning, but when the House re-assembled in the afternoon, it was found that there was no quorum. However, the debates on the motions for grants were more animated and as usual a number of the more important features of the policy of the Railway Board came in for close scrutiny and criticism. The two grants on which the opposition mostly concentrates are those for the up-keep of the Railway Board and its establishment, and the grant for working expenses. The lines of attack on the Railway Board are familiar to all who have studied previous numbers of this Report and converge in the main position that the Railway Board contains not even one Indian member. From time to time other grievances are alleged against the Board, and this year a member of the Congress Party moved a wholesale cut of the Railway Board Grant, asking that it be reduced to one rupee, because of the unrepresentative and unresponsive character of the Board. Another leading member of the Congress Party, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, supported the cut on the grounds that the Railway Board's policy in the matter of wagon construction, as he said, had resulted in practically killing the wagon industry in India. Sir George Rainy, Member for Railways and Commerce, in replying to the debate regretted that throughout its course nobody had dealt with the main condition which determined the success of the Railway administration and this was efficiency and cheap transport. He said that the appointment of an Indian to the Railway Board was a matter for constant consideration, but at a time when responsibilities were daily growing he wished to make it quite clear that only the best men would be selected for membership of the Board. He asked the House to compare the Railway Administration with what it had been six years ago, and he challenged his hearers to prove that it had not been successful. The cut was rejected by the Assembly.

Four days are allotted for the discussion of Railway Budget Grants and practically the whole of this time was taken up by discussing the one grant for the Railway Board. Later discussions on this demand elicited one or two important statements from the Government. Thus, in answer to a debate on a cut which had been moved on the grounds that racial discrimination in favour of Europeans and Anglo-Indians existed in the subordinate railway services, Mr. Parsons, Financial Commissioner to the Railway

Board, said that the latter's policy was that there should be no racial discrimination in the subordinate service and that assurances had been received from railway administrations that steps are being taken to abolish any discrimination which might at present exist. Railway administrations in future would not give different rates of pay or different terms of service for any particular community, and Mr. Parsons hoped that the Anglo-Indian community would still obtain service on the railways.

Another discussion of some importance centred in the policy adopted by the Railway Board in the matter of the purchase of stores. Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, Member for Industries and Labour, announced that the Government of India would shortly publish the rules relating to rupee tenders. Arrangements, he said, had been made to appoint Consulting Engineers to the Government of India in England as a branch of the Indian Stores Department, through which the Indian railways were making increasingly large purchases. The Stores Department, however, were not yet properly equipped for dealing with purchases of wagons and locomotives. Sir George Rainy, who followed Sir B. N. Mitra, said that it would be premature to attempt at present anything like complete centralization of stores purchase for Indian railways.

The general discussion by the Legislative Assembly of the main budget, for which two days are allotted, opened on March 7th. The discussion on this day was, however, confined almost entirely to back-benchers, because it was known that on the 8th His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was to announce the decisions of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India on the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report, and the main debate would take place after that announcement. Quite early in the proceedings of the 8th, therefore, His Excellency Sir William Birdwood's speech, with which we deal in Chapter VIII, turned the discussion away from financial to military matters and proceedings in the Assembly became lively.

Of the debates on the demands for Grants, we need only mention two or three of the more important. A minor edition of the debate on the Statutory Commission took place on March the 13th in connection with one of the items in the Miscellaneous demand, which included a grant of approximately 3½ lakhs of rupees for the expenses incurred in connection with the Statutory Commission during the current year. The debate was a short one and no new points

emerged. The Leader of the Congress Party moved that this grant be omitted and his motion was carried by seven votes, the division, it will be noticed, being practically the same as that on the main question on February the 18th.

Another debate of some interest was that which took place when the demand for the North-West Frontier Province was put before the House. A Muhammadan member of the Congress Party from Bihar and Orissa moved a cut in the grant as a censure on the Government of India for not having extended the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province. The mover of the cut was supported by Sir Abdul Qayum, an old and distinguished frontier officer who now sits in the Assembly as a nominated member to represent the frontier, Mr. Jinnah, and Lala Lajpat Rai. They however, approached the problem from very different points of view. In replying to the debate the Foreign Secretary, Sir Denys Bray, showed that the problem of extending Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province still bristled with difficulties, and he stated that no definite decision on the subject had yet been reached or would be reached until the Government of India felt quite certain that they had come to the right conclusion. He was able to announce that the situation had of recent years immensely improved in one respect, and that was the assured success of the Government's policy in Waziristan.

The last day of the debates on motions for grants saw the Government defeated on motions to reduce both the grants for the Army Department and the grant for the Viceroy's Executive Council. Normally the discussion on the Executive Council grant is the most important of all, but this year the almost automatic defeats of the Government had taken a good deal of interest out of the proceedings by the time the Executive Council grant was moved, and the cut of all but one rupee, recommended by a young member of the Congress Party, was moved in somewhat derisory vein. Immediately after the division on this grant had been taken, the guillotine fell and the remaining grants went through without any further discussion.

The last Act, which ends the history of the Budget, is the passing of the annual Finance Bill introduced this year into the Assembly on March the 16th. As usual the debate ranged over a wide variety of subjects, and as usual also, much attention was devoted to the salt tax, and to what is now becoming a hardy

annual, the reduction of postal rates. On all the divisions over proposals relating to salt and postal rates the Government were victorious. On the third reading of the Bill, some of the leading members of the opposition raised the wide constitutional question of India's political status, and the merits or otherwise of the Financial Bill as a purely financial measure tended to be somewhat obscured. Mian Shah Nawaz Khan, a member of the Muslim Centre Party, struck a practical note and brought the debate back to its proper moorings by recommending the passing of the Finance Bill on the basis of the financial record of the past five years. In summing up the debate, Sir Basil Blackett showed by actual figures that the economic progress made by India since the beginning of the twentieth century was equalled by the progress of very few countries in the whole world. But, as he pointed out, one of the reasons why India was not economically more advanced than she is at present, was that she had to start from a low level. Replying to those opposition leaders who had raised the big political question, Sir Basil said that the British had a deep political motive in the progress of India, a motive which found expression during the trial of Warren Hastings, and this was that autocracy in India might endanger liberty in Great Britain. The declaration of August 1917 was the result of a consistent policy. It had been, perhaps, accelerated by the War, but had not been wrung from Britain by political agitation. It represented a generous tribute to the service of the martial races of India. This policy Great Britain would pursue whether she were assisted by Indian politicians or not. The Bill passed in the end by the handsome majority of twenty votes in a House of about one hundred.

The most important part of the business which came before the Council of State during this session was the resolution on the Statutory Commission which has been described above, and other important items of business will be found narrated in other chapters of this Report. The Council afforded a smooth passage to both the Railway and General Budgets and also to the Finance Bill.



In Chapter I we mentioned the "All Parties Conference" which met in Delhi between the 12th February and the middle of March. In that place, however, we dealt only with its efforts to

settle Hindu-Muslim disagreements but had a wider scope than this. Its main object was to consider the drafting of a constitution giving India full responsible government in which the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question was one of the elements. After meeting two or three times and holding protracted deliberations the Conference adjourned on March 11th until the middle of May when it was to meet in Bombay. Two sub-committees were appointed to enquire, firstly, into the conditions under which Sind could be separated from Bombay and made into a self-supporting province and secondly, to consider the problem presented by the electoral system, proportionate numbers of different communities in the Central Legislature, protection of minorities, and one or two other connected matters.

Before we close this narrative of the politics of the year 1927-28, mention must be made of the attitude towards the Statutory Commission of those Provincial Councils which had an opportunity of pronouncing their opinion before March the 31st. Two Provincial Councils those in favour of Burma and Punjab, had pronounced in favour of co-operation with the Commission, the latter coming to this decision without even taking the matter to vote. The Councils of the Central Provinces and the United Provinces had decided against co-operation. In the former province the Government did not claim a division; in the United Provinces the Government resolution for co-operation was lost by one vote only. As we have seen, the Council of State had decided in favour of co-operation and the Legislative Assembly against it. Thus, three legislative bodies had voted for co-operation and three for non-co-operation with the Commission. But by the end of March, it was already apparent that the Legislative Council of the great province of Bengal was likely to declare for co-operation, whilst the prospects in the Bombay Council also were bright. On the whole, the year closed with opinion outside the Legislative Assembly veering in the direction of co-operation.



CHAPTER III.

State and People.

Country and Town.

In this chapter the writer must perform the traditionally unsatisfactory operation of trying to make bricks without straw. He sets out to describe the activities of the State in some of their particularly beneficial manifestations, but, in order to do so satisfactorily he ought to be able to give as a back-ground the general conditions and standard of living of the people of the country and show how these have been modified within a measurable period by the said beneficial activities. Unfortunately, this desideratum cannot be achieved. Even were statistical and other data available on the same scale for all India as they are for England and other Western countries, the task would still be one of staggering difficulty, because of the many different Indias within India which are encountered whether we turn to the economic or the social, or, even, the cultural side of the life of this sub-continent. But even the help which might have been obtained from satisfactory abundance of statistics is not forthcoming. Nearly four years ago the Government of India appointed a committee " to examine the material at present available for framing an estimate of the economic condition of the various classes of the people of British India, to report on its adequacy, and to make recommendations as to the best manner in which it may be supplemented and as to the lines on which a general economic survey should be carried out ". The Report of the Committee, which was submitted in the summer of 1925, at any rate discovers the nakedness of the land in respect of a supply of economic data. The innumerable activities of the State in Western Europe and America are all fully documented and laid bare to the investigation of students and others who are interested, in a flood of blue books, statements, and tabular arrangements of all sorts. Not to be outdone by the officials, a veritable host of private or semi-private, municipal, county, and all manner of organisations also add their numerous quota to the material available for the study of the activities of the State and the pro-

gress of the welfare of the people for whose benefit these and other semi-official and non-official activities take place. In India practically none of the un-official material exists, and Government records, whether central or provincial, are all too rarely made accessible to the public. Except for the reports of occasional commissions and committees of enquiry into specific aspects of the economic life of this country, and the annual Statistical Abstract, the data which the student needs for an exposition such as that outlined in the opening words of this chapter, must be sought in many places and with great difficulty. Debates on Indian economic matters may be safely undertaken, for the disputants can back their points with arguments and figures suited to them, and these can never be proved wrong. The temptation to do this will be resisted in this chapter, which, in consequence, may be found to be lacking in its introductory part in clear-cut statements of facts.



The economic conditions under which large sections of the population, rural and urban, of this country have to live, are bad—often as bad as they can be. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the following pages will show that ameliorating processes are at work, and that the standard of living is rising point by point, slow and almost imperceptible though the process of uplift may be. Moreover, an attempt is made to show the many sidedness of the problem of improving the condition of the masses of India. Present-day students of Indian affairs all too often forget that the task which faced the British Government in India when the period of expansion came to an end, was, as Macaulay well expressed it in one of his greatest oratorical efforts in the House of Commons, nothing less than the " stupendous process " of " the reconstruction of a decomposed society ". For thirteen hundred years after the White Huns laid Taxila in the North-West in ruins, India's political fabric was repeatedly smashed and the life of her different kingdoms and peoples stunted and crippled until the rise of the British power. When Lord Lake came to Delhi over a hundred years ago to protect the Moghul Emperor against the Maharattas, he found the social life of districts within sight of the Delhi walls still disintegrated after the horrors of Nadir Shah's invasion fifty years earlier. And over immense tracts of India, similar conditions prevailed before the coming of the Pax Bri-

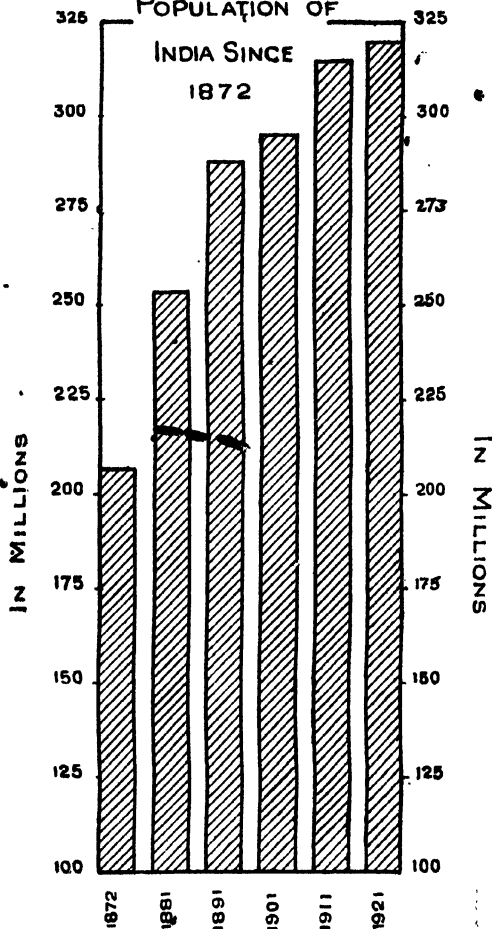
tannica. So some hint of the vastness of the scope and complexity of the early British task in India begins to emerge. Not only had some framework of government to be devised and erected, not only had the great administrative departments to be created, and their subordinate personnel educated and trained, but over vast areas the conditions under which civilisation could live had to be restored. In this and the succeeding chapters, a mere recital of the works of the different departments and agencies of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments will show how vastly different is the environment in which they function from that in which Sleeman and Edwardes and Keatinge and a whole host of the early British administrators lived their lives and did their work. To those who have read deeply in the history of this country during the past ten or fifteen decades, there is magic in the figures of shipping cleared at the ports of Bombay and Calcutta and in the number of ton-miles carried on the Indian railways last year, and still more, perhaps in the existence of the Indian Legislative bodies and the schools and universities throughout India, for these are some of the marks which show how far the " stupendous process of the reconstruction of a decomposed society " has proceeded.



India is a country of continental contrasts. Bounded on the North by the stupendous mass of the Himalayas and on the North-West and North-East by lesser but still gigantic mountain ranges, with the rest of her perimeter washed by the sea, India can show the greatest extremes of fertility and barrenness, rainfall and drought, of highly developed and up-to-date industries, and agricultural methods and implements some of which are as primitive now as they were when Alexander came into the Punjab. Extraordinary contrasts in natural and agricultural conditions can be encountered within a few miles of each other, and there are many places from which a day's ride will transport the traveller from among people of one physical type, speaking one language, to surroundings where people of quite a different stock speak another language, entirely unintelligible to their neighbours a few miles away. Crops of the temperate zone are cultivated and form the staple food of the people of one part of India, whilst in another part the crops of tropical countries are grown and consumed. There is a world of difference between the stony starveling plots, terraced

with infinite labour among the barren rocks of the Western Punjab Hills, and the fat rice and jute fields of Bengal, and there are just as great differences between the people who till them, whilst between these extremes lie numerous gradations of climate and soil with cultivation dependent on canal, well, or tank irrigation, or on rainfall more or less abundant. In short, it needs the colossal gazetteer of the Indian Empire to give a full account of the innumerable conditions and circumstances of our great sub-continent. But, in spite of all this, it is possible to make one or two generalisations which are true of all India, and the first is this: India is primarily a land of small villages and tiny hamlets; towns are few, and of great cities there are but rare specimens. There are fully half a million villages in India, and of these, immense numbers are diminutive clusters of mud-huts microscopic in scale when compared with the immensity of plain or mountain in which they are set. Only a very small proportion of these villages are touched by the railway or by metalled roads. The vast majority of them are approached by unmetalled roads or winding paths between the fields, the former usually impassable, or almost impassable by wheeled traffic after rain, whilst the latter cannot afford passage to a wheeled vehicle at any time. In the next chapter will be found certain figures relating to the mileage of roads of different kinds in India, and from them, the reader will be able to form some sort of a mental picture of the paucity of first class roads in this country. The Government of India, through their Railway Board, are steadily extending the number and mileage of their branch lines, but the size of India ensures that it will be long before her surface is covered with a network of lines, anything like as close and complete as the railway systems of the West of Europe. For long years to come, the villages in many parts of India must continue remote from railway or hard high road.

Estimates of the percentage of the total population of India which is engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits vary slightly, but it cannot be very much different from the 73·9 per cent. at which it stood when the census of 1921 was taken. There are some reasons for supposing that the percentage of urban residents in India has risen during the seven years which have elapsed since the census was taken, but we shall be safe in assuming that it is roughly 11 per cent. of the whole. A moment's consideration



REASONS FOR INCREASE OF POPULATION

PERIOD	INCREASE DUE TO: INCLUSION OF NEW AREAS	INCREASE DUE TO: IMPROVEMENT OF METHOD	REAL INCREASE OF POPULATION	TOTAL	RATE PER CENT OF REAL INCREASE
	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	
1872 - 1881	33·0	12·0	3·0	48·0	1·5
1881 - 1891	5·7	3·5	24·3	33·5	9·6
1891 - 1901	2·7	·2	4·1	7·0	1 4
1901 - 1911	1·8	-	18·7	20·5	6·4
1911 - 1921	·1	-	3·7	3·8	1·2
TOTAL	43·3	15·7	53·[illegible]	112·8	20·1

of these figures will show that the portion of India's agricultural produce which is consumed in the towns is small as compared with the total production. Generally speaking, therefore, the villagers produce for their own consumption, and historic, economic, and social conditions which have persisted through long ages, have developed the self-sufficing type of agriculture which we find in India to-day. In other ways, too, the Indian village is as a rule self-contained. Land-owners, whether cultivating all or a portion of their lands, or letting them out to tenants; tenants—some with permanent rights in the land, others with only yearly rights; agricultural labourers who are often members of different castes from their masters; artisans with their simple traditional skill, and village menials and shopkeepers, all form an ordered hierarchy and make up the self-contained and primitive, yet interesting and often surprisingly intricate economic system of the typical Indian village.

But although agriculture is far and away the greatest and the most important industry in India and although the people engaged therein compose the vast majority of her population, it must not be forgotten that industries in a more technical sense, the industries of the factory, the iron works, and the vast transport systems, are becoming increasingly important factors in the economic life of this country, and the workmen employed in them are growing continually in number. The census of 1931 will give us some information on this subject of the increasing industrialisation and urbanisation of India. At present all that we can do is to draw attention to it as one of the many elements of Indian economics.

A few statistics will show how preponderantly rural is the Indian scene. The total population of India including all the Indian states and Burma was, according to the 1921 census, 318,942,480.* Of all this number, less than 8¼ millions lived in towns with a population of 100,000 and upwards, of which there were 35. Roughly 3½ millions lived in 54 towns, whose population numbered between 50,000 and 100,000. Apart from these, less than 21 million people lived in places which can be called towns, even if we include in the latter category what are really villages with populations of less than 5,000. A writer, therefore, who sets out to give an account, however unsubstantial it may be, of the general economic condition of the Indian people, will be pardoned

if he visualises his task as being primarily concerned with the condition of the agricultural population consisting largely of an immense number of small holders.

A little while ago we referred to the still primitive condition of agricultural implements and methods and to the continued existence of traditional conditions of life in the Indian villages. But, although the lives of the villagers in so many of these villages are lived remote from the modern world of industry and highly organised communications, it is impossible that they should be entirely unaffected by the immense changes and developments which have taken place in the world during the past few decades. The spread of railways and roads in India has done much to break down the ancient isolation of her villages and a majority of her people must at any rate have seen motor cars, whilst millions of them have actually ridden in them at some time or other. Travel, that great medium of education, is becoming yearly cheaper and more accessible, whilst thousands of Indians, even from the remotest hills and thickest forests, travelled overseas and saw something of the world during the Great War. In a word, new ideas are at work in the Indian villages and, there can be no doubt, with continually increasing effectiveness. The paucity of urban centres in India, the foci and disseminators of civilization and liberalizing ideas, is of course a drawback and slows down the pace of progress. But even this is not an unmixed evil, for the too violent or unrestrained impact of new ideas on a social and economic system so conservative and firmly rooted in tradition as that of the Indian village, would certainly produce many undesirable effects. In the Indian village system, largely self-sufficing and self-contained as we have seen it to be, there is much that ought to be preserved and it should never be forgotton that the Indian village is also largely self-governed. The village headman, and in these modern days the village panchayats of the new local self-government model, responsible to and partly controlled by outside authorities though they are, must of necessity be responsive to village opinion.

The influences which are at present working to bring the Indian village system more closely into touch with modern conditions and the great world outside are of different kinds. As time and space dwindle under the assaults of mechanical inventions, and the progress and development of communications of all sorts, the pheno-

mena of the modern world are brought nearer to the vision of the Indian villagers. Industrial products which their fathers never knew are being used by them and some of these have already become necessities of life, transforming habits and improving standards of living. And when wireless broadcasting becomes a welcome and familiar feature of the villagers' day, as it will do if it is fostered by the Provincial Governments, nothing short of a revolution will quickly be worked in his ideas and his outlook on life. Progress moves more quickly in these days than ever before, and its pace is all the time accelerating. In the future, changes, even in India, will be traced not over centuries or generations, but over decades.



Another strong force working to change the conditions of life in the Indian village and to enlarge the villargers' ideas are the changes which have taken place in late years in the administrative system of British India. Post-Reform developments in local self-government in this country have given the villages a new status and their residents new interests and functions. Village Panchayats, Union Boards and other small administrative units give the people on the soil the opportunity to perform a number of useful or indispensable duties for themselves. These include the supply of water for domestic use, the cleansing of public roads, drains, tanks and wells, and other public places or works in the village. They also include the carrying out of certain minor works such as the construction of local roads, drains and bridges. Sanitation, conservancy and certain functions in respect to the preservation and improvement of the public health also come within their scope. The various village committees also control grazing lands and the lighting of the village and, in addition, are empowered to try certain trivial offences. Thus, the importance of the village in the administrative scheme is now being emphasised, and it is being brought into closer touch with the administrative authorities of the districts and the provinces. All this sort of work is educative experience of much value and tends to develop interests in things beyond the village boundaries and to broaden ideas and experience generally. The great progress in education, particularly primary education, which has taken place of recent years, is also working in the same direction. The mere ability to read inevitably puts

within the villagers' reach the means, and, very often, the incentive to know something of what goes on outside his immediate neighbourhood.

But of all the influences now at work to modify the conditions of Indian rural life, perhaps, none are stronger than certain economic influences, both internal and external, now at work in all parts of this country. Of the internal economic influences, something has already been said, for they both show themselves in, and work through the various kinds of communications which are yearly creeping over India's surface. Roads and railways mean markets, and markets mean the stimulation not only of agriculture, but of industries also. And so it is not surprising to find small industries now springing up all over the countryside or to notice a marked tendency for the primary manufacturing processes of agricultural products to extend to the small towns and even to the larger villages. As the traveller drives about the country now, he will hear frequently from many of the villages which he passes, the sound of a little engine working, a sugarcane crusher, an oil presser, a little rice hulling mill, and so on. This development has far-reaching effects, for it is providing an outlet for the surplus money of the local moneylender, it gives employment to cultivators and labourers, particularly during the periods when agricultural operations are at a stand-still, it provides markets for local agricultural and dairy products, and it is yet another influence at work broadening the ideas and the experiences of the villagers.

External economic influences are also working powerfully to change the conditions of village life. Surplus harvests can now be marketed and the Indian "money crops"—tobacco, oilseeds, jute, cotton, tea—are assuming ever-increasing importance in the world supplies of these commodities. This, in turn, means that the standard of quality of India's supplies must be equal to that of similar supplies from other countries which in turn means that Indian agricultural methods must constantly improve in order to keep abreast of improving world standards. Agents for improved agricultural appliances, fertilisers, and other commodities of use in agriculture are constantly extending their scope and establishing themselves in places which they would hardly have thought of visiting some years ago. It would be easy enough to exaggerate the influence exercised by this connection between Indian agriculture and the world market, but we must guard against doing so.

At present, a very small percentage of Indian villages are affected directly by this connection, but their number will grow steadily and perhaps rapidly as time goes on.

There are, therefore, many signs of change and progress in the Indian villages, even though it may be possible to point to hundreds or thousands of villages in which no perceptible change of any sort has taken place within the memory of living man. Economic, administrative, educational, and other developments are, in spite of all denials, slowly permeating the whole of the Indian rural economy, altering the conditions of the villagers life, little though he may realise or appreciate it, widening his interests and broadening his mental outlook, and, it may on the whole truthfully be said, improving his material prospects.



Has the standard of living of the present generation of India's rural population risen above that of their fathers? A satisfactory answer to this question would have to be based on statistical and other economic data of precisely the kinds which, as we have seen, are not available in this country; or, at any rate, are only very partially and incompletely available. A certain amount of general evidence, only, is available, and, therefore, any discussion, of this question will be mostly in general terms. Some direct evidence can, however, be adduced.

Anybody whose direct acquaintance with India extends over a period of 20 or 30 years will have no hesitation in saying that India has, on the whole, prospered during that period, and if he were pressed to account for his belief he would point to a number of signs, each of them, no doubt, unimportant when considered separately, but, when taken together, found to be fairly convincing. Railway statistics for example, show that even the poorest sections of the people can afford to travel much more than in the past. Again, cigarettes, mineral waters and other simple luxuries are now enjoyed by the masses. Savings bank deposits and membership of co-operative societies are continually increasing, showing that more and more of the people are able to save a little and put it by for hard times. The exports of food-crops, to which we referred a little while back, mean that the superfluity of Indian production, instead of rotting or being disposed of at wasteful rates, as in the past, can now be sold to advantage. In return for her ex-

port of foodstuffs, India imports a certain amount of manufactured goods, but a very large part of her trade balance is always liquidated by imports of bullion, and this, when it is not hoarded, is available for circulation and for stimulation of trade and industry generally in this country. But the strongest proof of all of a definite improvement in the condition of the masses is afforded by the undoubtedly increased power of resistance to famine or scarcity. In the case of the agriculturist one main reason for this is to be found in the greatly increased value of his land which is far greater than the considerable rise in the price of grain which has taken place during the last few decades. Internal security, registration of rights in land, the extension of irrigation, and communications of all kind have all contributed to make land a continually more valuable possession. But, of course, the rise in the value of land, as a basis for credit, would be of little use were not sufficient liquid capital available to provide the credit, and it is here that we see one of the most valuable and beneficial results of the development of markets both in India, and abroad, but more particularly overseas for India's surplus produce. And, as we have pointed out, the development of markets, both internal and external, for Indian products, is intimately bound up with the development of communications of all kinds—land, oceanic, and, no doubt in the future, aerial also. Other results of the highest importance follow from all this. The increased outlet for Indian agricultural produce provided by the growth of markets makes it possible and encourages Indian agriculturists to extend in some places the area of their cultivation and to put something back in the way of fertilisers into their land, and to improve their equipment and methods in a way which was not possible in the past. The spread of communications, the growth of markets and the growth and sale of crops have already done something to transform the economic conditions of the Indian agriculturist, and the greatest of all the boons, which they have conferred upon him is an increased capacity to resist famine or scarcity. Now-a-days famine in India cannot cause the appalling havoc which it did before the growth of railways and roads, for it does not now consist in absolute lack of foodstuff, since this can be conveyed to any part of the country almost immediately. It consists in the lack of employment and therefore of purchasing power. When, owing to the absence of rain, those who, like the petty cultivator and the agricultural labourer, are

deprived of the opportunities of employment on which their livelihood depends, can be relieved effectively by the provision by the State of alternative means of livelihood.

Let us turn now to such direct evidence as is available of a rise in the standard of living of the Indian agricultural masses As we have already indicated, this is of the most meagre dimensions. One or two local enquiries, particularly in Madras and Bombay, have been held since the War into incomes and cost of living, but over the greater part of India this sort of work still remains to be done. A few years ago, the statistical branch of the Department of Agriculture in Madras published a careful estimate of the income earned by agriculturists in the form of agricultural products throughout the Presidency. According to their computation the average income per head worked out at a little over Rs. 100 for the 42·3 million persons of the Madras Presidency. A similar enquiry carried out in Bombay at much the same time yielded much the same results. There the net *per capita* annual income worked out at about Rs. 100 for urban localities, and for rural areas at about Rs. 75. During the decade ending 1922, daily average wages of labourers, both agricultural and industrial, roughly doubled, whilst the cost of living had increased by no more than 54 per cent. A Wages Survey undertaken in the Punjab at about the same time as the Madras and Bombay enquiries, yielded analogous results in spite of the very dissimilar conditions. In both the Punjab and Bombay, therefore, such direct evidence as we possess goes to show that the position of labour had improved during the decade ending 1922.

But although there are such good reasons for believing that an appreciable improvement has taken place in the standard of living of the Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century, this represents only the beginning of what has yet to be accomplished. There is a vast amount of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty, that is, of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence. This may be taken to be the normal state of the millions of agricultural labourers, who own no land themselves, and whose income consists mostly of customary wages paid in kind. When these

people live in the neighbourhood of towns they can often help themselves during the slack periods in agricultural operations by labouring for wages in the town, but it will be realised, after reading what has been said above, that this resource is not open to more than a small percentage of Indian agriculturists. The Landowners, even the owners of small fragmented holdings, are in a better case than the agricultural labourers, because they, at any rate, have something on which they can raise credit. But this very power to raise credit is all too often their undoing, for they get into the hands of the money-lender. In innumerable instances a man inherits the debt of his father which keeps him tied to the money-lender and rivets the fetters still more closely. However prudent and thrifty the Indian small holder may be, it is very difficult for him to keep out of debt. If wages in England or in any other Western country were paid only monthly, the state of the working population there would be one of chronic indebtedness, and, it must be remembered, the Indian agriculturist, at any rate the owner of an average sized holding, has, as a rule, no resources on which to fall back in bad times. Even at the best of times he has to wait for six months for the return for his labour and expenditure. Of late years much has been done to release the Indian agriculturist from his state of constant indebtedness, but the process is one of immense complexity and difficulty and cannot be expected to show results very quickly. The best and the most effective way to tackle the problem of rural indebtedness is to multiply and extend the operations of sound co-operative societies. The Co-operative Societies' Act of 1912 has facilitated the introduction of Village Credit Societies on the *Raiffeisen* model to replace the money-lender as a source of credit. Recent additions, too, or amendments to the law relating to money-lending, have been made by the Government of India and several of the Provincial Governments. The Usurious Loans Act of 1918 allows courts wide powers of interference whenever they consider that the terms of a loan are usurious. The Agriculturists' Loan Act, the Land Improvement Act, and the Land Alienation Act in the Punjab are all specimens of legislation designed either to keep the agriculturist out of debt or to save him from the worst rigours of his position. But these legislative measures, or at any rate the Usurious Loans Act and the various provincial measures with the same object, have, it must be confessed, not done much at present

to achieve their object and this fact increases the importance of the work which the Co-operative Societies are now doing.



But, in addition to these economic distresses the Indian villager normally finds himself bound in a chain of circumstances adverse to his welfare and prosperity. In the first place, innumerable villages all over India are foci of preventible disease which causes immense economic wastage. No survey of the conditions under which the Indian agriculturist lives and works can ignore this vitally important factor. The following quotation from a Resolution passed at the All-India Conferences of Medical Research Workers held in 1926 will enable the reader to understand what the ravages of disease mean to India in terms of economic loss:—

"This Conference believes that the average number of deaths resulting every year from preventible disease is about five to six millions, that the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India, from preventible disease is not less than a fortnight to three weeks in each year, that the percentage loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventible malnutrition and disease is not less than twenty per cent., and that the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about 50, whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to 80 or 90. The Conference believes that these estimates are understatements rather than exaggerations, but, allowing for the greatest possible margin of error, it is absolutely certain that the wastage of life and efficiency which result from preventible disease costs India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year. Added to this is the great suffering which affects many millions of people every year.

The Conference believes that the greatest cause of poverty and financial stringency in India is loss of efficiency resulting from preventible disease and, therefore, considers that lack of funds, far from being a reason for postponing the enquiry, is a strong reason for immediate investigation of the questions."



Another evil of great potency is the fragmentation of holdings which is almost general in this country. In the south and east of India the average holding is about 5 acres, and elsewhere not

more than half the holdings exceed even this small limit. Innumerable are the cultivators whose holdings are one acre or less in extent, and even this tiny area is all too often split up into a number of disconnected fragments scattered over the village. Sometimes some of the component parts are so small that the owner cannot cultivate them without trespassing on his neighbour's land. For example, in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency individual plots are some times as small as the 1/160th part of an acre. It is quite obvious that fragmentation of holdings inflicts immense economic harm on Indian agriculture and attempts are now being made to grapple with the evil. In the Punjab, the Co-operative Societies have for some years been carrying out consolidation of holdings by voluntary methods and have already achieved some most gratifying results. During the first five years of this work in the Punjab, 39,757 acres were consolidated. In 1925 alone, over 20,000 acres were consolidated, whilst in 1926 no less than 38,000 acres were rescued from fragmentation. In the Central Provinces an officer has been placed on special duty to carry out the work of consolidation, and the Provincial Legislative Council has this year passed a Consolidation of Holdings Act to be applied to one division of the province only, which gives power to not less than half of the permanent right-holders holding not less than two-thirds of the occupied area in a village to combine in a scheme of consolidation which, when confirmed, becomes binding on all the permanent right-holders in the village and on their successors. The Bombay Government also have got a bill in preparation to deal with the consolidation of holdings, but it has not yet passed into law.

To social and religious customs and observances can be directly traced not only the poverty of innumerable individuals, but also the perpetuation of many of the conditions which give rise to poverty in general. Reckless and wasteful expenditure on funerals, weddings and other similar ceremonies account for much of the existing poverty. The immense number of religious mendicants of all sorts and the preservation of very large numbers of useless cows are a very heavy drain on the resources of the country. The custom of child marriage again involves a continuous drain on the vitality and consequently on the economic power of the Hindu community in particular. Among many classes of the people social tradition prevents the employment of female labour on anything

like an adequate scale and so an economic factor of great importance in all advanced countries is immobilised in India.



Such in broad outline is the back-ground against which the progress during the year achieved in agricultural research and the betterment of Indian agriculture generally is to be viewed. It has already been explained that agricultural and veterinary subjects are now "transferred" subjects and therefore the Government of India are now divested, except to a very small extent, of all powers of direction and control over the development of agriculture in the provinces. But as no province can at present afford to carry out research on anything like an adequate scale into the many pressing problems presented by their agriculture and animal husbandry, this duty falls to the Agricultural Department of the Government of India. Constituted in its present form in 1906 the Indian agricultural service has already left its mark broad and deep on Indian agriculture, and the record of its achievement is one which will not easily be surpassed anywhere in the world. Since 1924 no recruitment has been made to the service as it is the intention of the Indian Government that the Provinces shall build up their own provincial agricultural services to take over the duties of the existing All India Service.

Of the work of the Agricultural Departments, both central and provincial, in India, agricultural education forms an integral and important part. Dr. D. Clouston, C.I.E., continued to hold the post of Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India and Director of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, and, in addition, to carry on the duties of Liaison Officer between the Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Government of India and Provincial Governments during the Commission's stay in India. The post of Joint Director of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, was held by Dr. W. H. Harrison, throughout the year. To the provincial agricultural colleges is assigned a dual role. They train men for employment in the provincial agricultural departments and they provide education in scientific agriculture for those who are desirous of turning their instruction to practical account in private farming or estate management. Though ostensibly intended to perform both functions, a very large percentage of the students who seek admission to these institutions do so with the

deliberate intention of obtaining appointments in the departments. Of the six colleges now working at Poona, Coimbatore, Lyallpur, Nagpur, Cawnpore and Mandalay, the first four are affiliated to universities. One hundred and sixty-one trained students passed out from these institutions during the year under report after getting either a degree, a diploma or a certificate.

The Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa and the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore provide facilities for post-graduate courses qualifying for the highest appointments in the agricultural service. During the year under report, five students completed their post-graduate training, four at Pusa and one at Bangalore. At the close of the year six post-graduate students were in residence at Pusa and five at Bangalore. Of the fourteen students who appeared for the dairy diploma examination of the Bangalore Institute nine passed.

The department has also opened a small number of agricultural middle schools which aim at giving a vocational training but these have not yet appealed to the small cultivator and well-to-do tenant farmer for whom they are intended. Even in Bombay, where the first venture in this direction was so successful that it encouraged the Board of Agriculture to recommend the example to other provinces, two of the schools opened had to be closed. In Madras, the Central Provinces, and Bengal, which were the first to follow in the wake of Bombay, the results have been even more disappointing.

While other provinces were busy experimenting with vocational schools, the Punjab took its own line and devised a scheme for giving a practical bent to education in rural areas by including agriculture in the curriculum of the ordinary vernacular middle schools. The special features of this scheme are that a small farm or plot is attached to the school and that an elementary training in the practice and principles of agriculture is given in the four higher classes by a teacher specially selected for the work and trained for a year at the Agricultural College at Lyallpur. The aim of all this is to give the boys a "bias" towards agriculture as a vocation; to stimulate their interest in the land, and to equip them to be better farmers. This form of rural eduaction, which is now finding favour in other provinces also, aims in short at adapting rural education to rural needs. This can be done on a large scale and at a small cost by utilizing existing schools. In

the Punjab, the number of "bias" schools is already 102, and some of the farms attached for practical work are not only self-supporting but show an annual balance at their credit.



Perhaps the most interesting side of the Indian Agricultural Department's activities is its economic work on crops.

Rice is the premier crop of India both as regards area and the value of its outturn. On an average 35 per cent. of the total cultivated area is under rice. With nearly 20 million acres, or 25 per cent. of the total acreage under the crop, Bengal is the most important rice-growing province. In Indrasail and Dudshar the local department has two transplanted *amans* (winter rices) which are suited for the heavy and light soils found in Northern and Eastern Bengal respectively. The selected variety in the *aus* (autumn rice) group is Kataktara which yields heavy crops on fertile land. During 1926-27 these are estimated to have been sown on an area of 139,000 acres. In Bihar and Orissa, Dahia paddy maintained its superiority inspite of an abnormal season. The three selections made from Kakharua at Cuttack have become popular in parts of Orissa. The four types of rice distributed from Coimbatore and seven from Aduturai were grown in Madras last year over an area of 145,787 acres. The pure strains isolated by the Burma department were grown on 287,939 acres as against only 100,000 acres four years ago. They are appreciated by the growers mainly on account of their high yield, the increase given over unselected varieties being 200 to 500 lbs. per acre. They are popular, too, with the millers who prefer white, bold, uniform grain which will not break in milling. They willingly pay premiums varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per unit of 100 baskets (4,600 lbs.) for such paddy. For the Eastern and Southern Circles of the Central Provinces, selected strains of Luchai, Bhondu and Bhatta Gurmatia, which are late, medium and early rices, respectively, maintain their popularity: they yield on an average about 450 lb. more per acre than the local mixtures. The early types Nos. 6 and 13 selected on the Adhartal farm are doing well in parts of the Northern Circle, where, in the absence of irrigation facilities, very early varieties are in demand. Rice breeding work at Karjat in the Bombay Presidency has yielded two types of Kolamba rice suitable for the North and South Konkan respectively. These give an increased

outturn of 20—35 per cent. over the local mixtures, and are now grown over nearly two lakhs of acres. Outside Burma, the main object which the Agricultural Departments have in view in their work on rice is an increase in the yield: improvement in quality to meet the export demand is of very secondary importance.



What rice is to Eastern and Southern India, wheat is to Northern India. The area under wheat is second only to that of rice, amounting to about 10 per cent. of the total area under cultivation. The isolation of heavy yielding wheats of high grain quality and their introduction into general cultivation will always be reckoned as one of the greatest achievements of the Imperial Department of Agriculture in India. Pusa 12 has proved to be the most successful of all the early Pusa selections on account of its great adaptibility and high yielding power. Yields as high as 27 cwt. to the acre have been obtained. This wheat is now grown on a considerable scale in parts of the United Provinces the Simla Hill States, the Eastern Punjab, Sind and some of the Rajputana States. Pusa 4, besides possessing a large, translucent grain of very fine appearance, matures very rapidly and has proved particularly suitable for parts of Bihar, Bundelkhand, the North-West Frontier Province, and Gujarat. In more recent years, three new types have been fixed by hybridization, which are as heavy yielders as the older selections but have certain special characters well suited to particular localities. Pusa 80—5 obtained by crossing Pusa 6 with Pusa 4 has done very well in certain parts of Bihar. The two other types called Pusa 52 and Pusa 54 (Pusa 6 × Punjab 9), being awned wheats, are welcomed in tracts where the beardless Pusa 4 and Pusa 12 suffer from the depredations of birds. Crosses between some of the improved Pusa wheats and the famous Australian wheat Federation have lately been made and favourable results are anticipated.

Of the 10,626,000 acres sown with wheat in the Punjab, 1,440,289 acres or over 13 per cent. are reported to be under improved varieties. The departmental seed distribution is of Punjab 8A which is steadily replacing Punjab 11 since the former gives a higher yield of both grain and straw and fetches a premium in the market. The older selection is, however, still grown on about five lakhs of acres. The other improved varieties under cultivation are Pusa

4, Pusa 12, and Punjab 17. About 14 per cent. of the area sown with wheat in the United Provinces is reckoned to be under improved varieties—mainly Pusa 4 and Pusa 12. Pusa 52, Pusa 54, and Cawnpore 13 are distributed in localities where a bearded wheat is in demand. Of the large number of the world's more noted varieties of wheat tested since 1910 at Tarnab in the North-West Frontier Province, none has yet surpassed Pusa 4 in all round merit. The area under this variety is reckoned to be about 300,000 acres. In the Central Provinces, Pusa 100 continues to make headway in the irrigated tracts of the eastern and southern districts. The new hybrids A. 113 and A. 115 are doing well in the Northern Circle of that Province.



The estimated area under sugarcane in India was 2,920,000 acres, as against 2,679,000 acres last year, an increase of 9 per cent. The estimated production of raw sugar (gur) was 3,208,000 tons as compared with 2,977,000 tons last year, which is an increase of 8 per cent. After deducting exports, re-exports, and stocks on 1st April 1927, at the principal ports in India, it is estimated that nearly 900,000 tons of imported and locally manufactured white sugar went into the channels of distribution in India in the official year 1926-27. This is in addition to the raw sugar (gur) manufactured locally which, with the exception of some 73,800 tons melted in refineries and 7,600 tons exported, were consumed within the country.

The Imperial Cane Breeding Station at Coimbatore continued the breeding of new varieties. New canes evolved at this Station are now being grown successfully in Northern India. In North Bihar, these new varieties are steadily replacing the indigenous kinds. Many of the growers feel that, but for these new canes with their greatly increased yields, they would have been badly hit by the low prices for sugar prevalent during the year. The introduction of Co. 210, Co. 213 and Co. 214 in Bihar has to a great extent improved the position of the sugar industry in that tract. For Co. 214, an early variety rich in sucrose, the factories are paying a premium to growers as they find that their working season can be increased by about a month by starting off with it before other varieties are ripe. Co. 205 has proved a very suitable cane for lowlying lands. The area under these new canes in the

United Provinces is reported to be about 44,000 acres. In this province Co. 290 appears to be the best of the Coimbatore varieties under trial. In the Punjab, the superiority of Co. 205 remains unchallenged as a cane for unirrigated lands; for irrigated tracts Co. 223 is coming to the front. When frost of unusual severity in the Punjab damaged some of the local varieties severely, the Coimbatore canes under trial proved much more resistant than others to the cold. In some districts of Bengal, Tanna has almost ousted the local cane. Co. 213, though a mere recent introduction, appears to be even more promising than Tanna. In Assam, Co. 213 and Co. 210 are among the best of the varieties under trial. In the Central Provinces some of the Coimbatore canes have been found to give much larger yields than Khari—a heavy yielding variety introduced many years ago. The experimental station at Anakapalli in Madras is being extended in area and will be used in future as a testing station for the thick canes produced at Coimbatore. The McGlashan or Sindewahi furnace as it is some times called, is becoming very popular in the cane-growing tracts of the Madras Presidency. This improved furnace does not require any fuel other than the bagasse of the cane and it is reckoned that the saving in fuel consequent on its use amounts to Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per acre of cane dealt with.........



The area under cotton fell to 24,976,000 acres, as compared with 28,491,000 acres in 1925-26, the estimated yield being 4,973,000 bales—a decrease of 1,277,000 bales. The weekly returns of cotton pressed indicate that the cotton crop in British India was under-estimated by not less than 1½ lakhs of bales. Owing to the partial failure of the Punjab cotton crop and low yields in certain other staple cotton areas there was an actual shortage in India of staple cotton, and this was mainly responsible for the very considerable imports of American cotton into India which took place during the year though a contributory cause was certainly the low price of American cotton—especially of low grade American cottons which are not tenderable in Liverpool.

The Agricultural Departments' work on cotton aims at improving the quality of the lint and at increasing the yield per acre. The improved strains introduced were sown during 1926-27 on over three and a half million acres. The success achieved in improving

the lint may be easily measured when we consider that in the period 1915 to 1918 India produced on an average 1,161,000 bales of medium staple cotton, whereas in 1925-26 she produced 2,145,000 bales, the greater part of which has been used in Indian cotton mills for the production of finer warp yarns to the advantage of her textile industry. The increase in the area under medium staple cottons has been at the expense of the area under short staple varieties. The area in the Punjab under Punjab-American cottons which are of medium staple was nearly a million acres last year.

In Madras the strain known as Co. 1 (previously Cambodia 295) has proved over several years' tests to be of exceptionally high spinning value; in 1926-27 it was reported to be good enough for 38s warp counts. Another selection, Cambodia 440, though not equal to Co. 1 is nevertheless a good spinning cotton. Moreover, it is a high yielder and much more resistant to "black-arm" and stem-weevil than any other Cambodia selection tried up-to-date. The Bombay Agricultural Department's Cotton Breeder has achieved very great success in the production of types of Kumpta cotton with a higher resistance to the cotton-wilt disease. The tests carried out at the Cotton Committee's Technological Laboratory show that the hybrid Broach 1A. 9 intended for the Broach area north of the Narbada, is suitable for spinning counts up to 20s warp. The improved strains of Wagad cotton selected for Upper Gujarat are already in demand. Dhulia No. 1 is good as regards yield and ginning percentage; it is suitable for 20s counts.

The application of the Cotton Transport Act to parts of the Bombay Presidency has led to a marked improvement in the purity and quality of Surat, Kumpta and Dharwar cottons. With the co-operation of the Baroda, Rajpipla, and Chota Udaipur States, which have enforced similar legislation, good progress has been made in establishing the variety known as Surat 1027 in the region north of the river Tapti. The three zones of the Madras Presidency where the Act has been applied are the Northerns and Westerns, Cambodia, and Tinnevelly. The Cotton Committee has devoted much attention during the year to the working of the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act and similar legislation has been introduced by Indian States to a most gratifying extent. The marking of bales and weekly returns of cotton pressed will shortly be general throughout almost the whole of India. The Indian Central Cotton Committee is examining the question of

further legislation with a view to dealing with such abuses as the watering of cotton in pressing factories and the mixing of cotton of different growths. The Committee has also started enquiries into the difficulties experienced by cotton growers in marketing their produce.

The facilities offered by the Technological Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee for ascertaining the value of new cottons by spinning tests with 12 lb. samples are much appreciated by cotton breeders working in the provinces. During the year ending 31st August, 1927, no less than 79 samples were tested for the Agricultural Departments, in addition to 21 standard cottons which are dealt with in considerable detail every year. An outstanding feature of the year's work is the progress which has been made on the study of the fibre characters of Indian cottons. Methods have now been worked out for determining on each of the cottons undergoing spinning trial, the fibre-length distribution, ribbon width, convolutions, rigidity, hair strength, and fibre weight per centimetre. Work at the Indore Institute of Plant Industry has been steadily developed, and progress has been made with the general investigations into the botany, physiology, and cytology of Indian cottons, and of the special problems connected with cotton growing on the black-soils of Central India. The Indian Central Cotton Committee now finances 13 provincial research schemes of which five deal with cotton breeding, three with cotton physiology, two with cotton diseases and three with cotton entomology. The pink bollworm research scheme at Cawnpore has yielded very definite results. It has been practically established that if all the cotton-seed of a sufficiently large tract can be treated by heat, the pest can be controlled. When both yield and quality are taken into account, the benefit to the grower from the control measures should be at least Rs. 30 per acre, whereas the cost of treating the cotton-seed produced from an acre is not likely to exceed 3 annas.



In the supply of jute fibre North-East India enjoys a world-wide monopoly. With the revival of trade after the depression of the war and postwar period, the demand for this essential requisite of international commerce has increased, and the area put down this year exceeded the average for the preceding quinquennium by 59 per cent. Over 84 per cent. of the total jute area lies in Bengal

where two main species are cultivated, namely, *Corchorus capsularis* and *C. olitorius*. A high yielding variety of each of these has been isolated and brought into general cultivation by the local Agricultural Department. These improved varieties now occupy an area of over half a million acres, their yields in fibre exceeding those of the local races which they are replacing by about 25 per cent. There is a growing demand for them in Assam also, where they have proved the most productive of the varieties hitherto tried in the villages. The cultivation of jute is making steady progress in the Ganjar tract of the United Provinces where conditions are similar to those of large areas in Bengal.



On an average a little over a million acres are cropped with tobacco in India, about half this area being situated in Bengal and Madras. The other tobacco tracts of importance are in Bihar, Burma and Bombay. The tobacco most commonly grown is *Nicotiana tabacum*. In the drier and colder districts of North-West India, *Nicotiana rustica*, a hardier species with a shorter growing period, predominates. The indigenous varieties give a somewhat coarse leaf of low quality which is good enough for *hookas* and a demand has now arisen for tobacco of a better quality for the manufacture of cigarettes. The programme of the Agricultural Department therefore aims at producing a tobacco of the colour, flavour and texture of that commonly called Virginian which will be suitable both for home consumption and for export. Further trials at Pusa with the American tobacco Adcock and White Burley have shown that a good outturn of leaf can be assured in Bihar by sowing and transplanting these earlier than the indigenous varieties. Burley and Adcock yielded, during the year under report, 1,300 lb. and 900 lb. respectively of dry leaf per acre. The former when air-cured on racks takes a rich mahogany colour characteristic of the best grades of pipe tobacco. Flue-curing, on a small scale, in a specially constructed barn, gave very encouraging results with Adcock. A sample of Pusa Type 28 rack-cured in the sun and protected from the dew was valued by an expert as the most suitable for cigarette manufacture. The acclimatization of exotic cigar and cigarette varieties, and the improvement of the local races by selection are in progress at Burirhat in Bengal. Attempts are being made on the tobacco farm at Nadiad in Bombay to improve the

flavour of indigenous tobaccos by hybridization with American types.



Over 8 per cent. of the total cultivated area in India is on an average cropped with oilseeds, *viz.*, linseed, rape, mustard, sesamum, castor seed and ground nut. Crossing between linseeds of peninsular India and Bihar has given at Pusa types which promise to combine the bold-seeded character with a habit suited for growth in the Gangetic alluvium. The introduction of early maturing varieties of groundnut has given a great impetus to the cultivation of this crop and the area of 4,292,000 acres sown in 1926-27 was more than three times that of 1918-19. In Madras and Burma the area has more than doubled in the same period while the increase in Bombay is of over 400 per cent. In Berar, oilseeds give, at current prices, a gross profit which is approximately three times as much that obtained from cotton. In Khandesh and Upper Gujarat where the cultivation of short-stapled cotton was, during the year under review, less than usually remunerative owing to the fall in prices, an improved variety of groundnut has saved the situation and doubled the income of cultivators. The substitution of this valuable oilseed for inferior millets has, in other parts of India, raised the value of the return per acre from about Rs. 15 to Rs. 60. The Madras Department is now showing on 205 plots along a distance of 300 miles that cocoanuts can be raised under a dry system of cultivation. As a result, 10,000 acres have been added to this valuable crop on the West Coast on lands which hitherto had lain waste.



In the past when large grazing areas were available, the cultivator relied very largely on nature to produce food for his cattle in the form of pasture. As the pressure on the land increased, much of the best of the natural grazing land was converted into tillage land, for the ever increasing human population had to be fed. The area still available for grazing in British India is reckoned to be in the neighbourhood of 210 million acres, but the grass on much of this area becomes unpalatable for stock soon after the end of the monsoon, and no real effort is yet being made to cut and store the grass as hay or silage at a suitable stage, *i.e.*,

before it depreciates in quality. Cattle over the greater part of India have in consequence to subsist for about half the year on fodder consisting of drywithered grass in the grazing areas, and the stalks, stubble, and leaves of over-ripe grain crops. The provision of good quality fodder has, therefore, assumed paramount importance in the agricultural economy of the country, and the Agricultural Departments have, of late years, given much attention to the question of both growing and storing fodders. Luscious fodders unknown in India 20 years ago such as berseem (Egyptian clover) have been introduced and methods of storing them in the dry state or as ensilage are being demonstrated.

Berseem is grown on a large scale at Pusa, where it is followed in the same year by a crop of early maize. By thus cropping a comparatively small irrigated area, a large herd is provided during the winter and summer months with all the bulky green fodder it requires. Berseem has replaced shaftal (Persian clover) on 20 per cent. of the area under clover in the North-West Frontier Province. In Bihar and Orissa, Elephant grass and Rata grass are being successfully grown. The cultivation of the Japanese millet has proved useful as a fodder catch crop on departmental farms in Bengal, and is now being taken up in the countryside. Elephant grass and Guinea grass are becoming popular in Assam, and the demand from cattle-owners for clumps for planting is being met from the Jorhat farm. Among the exotic grasses, Merker grass appears to be very well suited for the upland laterite soils of Lower Burma. Rotational grazing has given good results in Bombay, where methods of renovating poor pastures are under investigation. On the Hosur farm in the Madras Presidency, spear grass when cut before flowering has been found to make good silage.



In addition to the economic work on crops, a considerable amount of research work bearing on fundamental problems of agricultural chemistry, agricultural bacteriology, plant pathology, mycology and entomology is being done by the various departments of agriculture in India. Among the investigations in progress during the year may be mentioned those dealing with the movements of nitrates in the soil, the possibility of producing artificial farmyard manure, the utilization of the sources of natural indi-

genous phosphate, the detection of adulterants in *ghee* (clarified butter), the mosaic disease of sugarcane and the control of insects infesting cereals in storage.

The study of the movements of nitrates in the soil and subsoil, which had been in progress at Pusa for some years in four areas under different cultural conditions, was concluded during the year. The results obtained point to the conclusion that nitrification becomes very active when the rains begin and soon reaches its maximum, that very considerable quantities of nitrates are, later on, washed into the subsoil and naturally lost, that very little of the large quantity of nitrates produced during the early rains is utilized by the crops grown during that period, that the nitrate produced during the latter part of the monsoon is utilised by the cold weather crops, and lastly, that there is no upward movement of the nitrates in the subsoil.

The investigations into the possibility of producing artificial farmyard manure have reached at various centres a stage when the methods evolved can be demonstrated with advantage to the Cultivators. Comparative field trials have shown that the organic matter so produced produces results similar to those obtaining by using cattle manure. Work on the utilization of the natural sulphur-oxidizing powers of certain soil bacteria for solubilization of the phosphoric acid of bonemeal by composting was continued at Pusa. In a compost of bonemeal, sulphur, sand and charcoal the percentage of soluble phosphate increased from 23·5 to 64·2 in 16 weeks. The superiority of the compost to untreated bonemeal as a manure for mustard, oats and potatoes was well marked in the field trials carried out. Ripening tests of sugarcane manured with ammonium sulphate or superphosphate are being carried out at Sabour in Bihar and Orissa, and a more extended test has been completed at Pusa. Of the various manures experimented with at Pusa, superphosphate produced canes the juice of which had the highest sucrose and the lowest glucose content. This result was also reflected in the quality of *gur* (raw sugar) prepared. In Bengal, timely irrigations seem to have a great influence in reducing the glucose content.

A further survey made at Pusa of the sugarcane-growing stations in different parts of India has revealed the presence of mosaic disease in 28 localities among 47 co. canes and 2 thin and 38 tropical varieties. Investigational work carried out during the year indicates that the disease behaves in India as in other countries;

that it is transmissible by sets and injection into the leaf and leaf-sheath; that it passes from one variety to another and from cane to maize and sorghum, and that natural infection occurs. Observations made on a plot plated with mosaic and non-mosaic sets of the Coimbatore seedling 213 suggest that roguing should be done in Bihar as early as the 1st of May, when 75 per cent. of the mosaic plants should be visible. Red Mauritius canes grown from seed from a very highly infected block in Sabour were only about 3 to 4 feet in length, while several other varieties in the same plot were from 6 to 8 feet long. Data collected during the year indicate that there is also a possible loss through lower germination in mosaic cane.

The use of mercury in stored wheat has proved effective at Pusa in eliminating the danger of damage by weevils which amounts at times to 20 per cent.



It is reckoned that there are in British India 151 millions of cattle and buffaloes. This works out to 61 per 100 of human population and 67 for every 100 acres of cultivated area. For each 100 acres of net area sown there are approximately 92 acres of uncultivated land available for grazing, so that this total area of 192 acres of cultivated and grazing lands has to support 67 head of cattle in addition to sheep, goats, ponies and other stock. Even with such over-stocking, the draught power available for tillage operations is inadequate, and there is a general shortage of milk and milk products. There are too many scrub half-starved cattle in the country and what is wanted is an improvement in the efficiency of both males and females. To this end, cattle breeding farms have been established, pure-bred herds are being evolved by selection, and continuous efforts are made to increase the milking capacity of cows of promising sound dual-purpose breeds. In the domain of animal husbandry feeding is as important as breeding, and special attention as we have seen, is being paid to the question of growing and storing fodders. With the object of demonstrating the possibilities of transporting milk from rural areas where it is relatively cheap to urban centres where it is dear, schemes have been promoted for supplying milk to the towns of Calcutta, Nagpur, Muzaffarpur, Agra, Hathras, Bareilly and Naini Tal. Dairy Managers are being trained at the Imperial Institute of Animal

Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore, and the services of the Imperial Dairy Expert are being fully utilised by Provincial Governments, Indian States, Municipalities and private individuals in connection with their various dairy schemes.

With a view to stimulating and to some extent co-ordinating the efforts being made in the various provinces and Indian States towards cattle improvement, the Government of India have established at Bangalore a Central Bureau for Animal Husbandry and Dairying with the Imperial Dairy Expert as Secretary. Pending the appointment of an expert committee to guide the work of the Bureau, preliminary work for opening herd books of important breeds has been undertaken. So far 5,000 cattle have been offered for registration as foundation stocks for breed-herd-books.

Cattle-breeding operations at Pusa have been directed along two lines: (1) a herd of Sahiwals is being graded up by selective breeding, and (2) the poorer milkers of the same breed are being crossed with Ayrshire bulls of high milking pedigree with the primary object of obtaining reliable information regarding the inheritance of observable characters in the crosses. In the pure Sahiwal herd six cows gave during the year under report over 5,000 lb. each in a lactation period of 304 days, while among the half-bred progeny of rejected Sahiwal cows by Ayrshire bulls the yields of the first six cows ranged from 8,000 to 11,000 lb. In the Montgomery herd the average yield per cow per day was 11·7 lb., while in the latter it was 20·5 lb. To those familiar with the small yields obtained from Indian cattle, the fact that 4,000 lb. in a lactation period of 10 months is now the minimum standard for the retention of any cow in the herd tells its own tale. Compared with yields ranging from 6,000 to 8,000 lb. in a similar period from cross-bred Ayrshire-Montgomery cows the average yield of this fine Montgomery herd looks small. It must be remembered, however, that such cross-bred animals are less hardy and disease-resistant than those of pure indigenous breeds. The average percentage of cows in milk was 48 and 68 for Montogomeries and cross-breds respectively. Thus a cross-bred cow not only gives more milk than the best representative of her dam's family but also calves more frequently an important advantage in commercial dairying. Having produced a cross of good milking capacity by adding Ayrshire blood and having proved that the sire is prepotent as regards milk production,

attempts are being made to adapt the cross to the needs of the country by mating half-bred dams with Sahiwal bulls of good milch pedigree. Some of the ¼ Ayrshires thus produced have come into milk, and all that can be said at present is that they promise to justify the policy pursued.

In accordance with the breeding policy adopted at Pusa, most of the cross-bred cows on the Bangalore and Wellington farms are now sired by Indian bulls of good milch pedigree. There are also herds of Scindi cows on these two farms. His Excellency the Viceroy personally visited the Karnal cattle-breeding farm in November 1926 and the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore in July 1927. At Karnal, pure herds of Thar-Parkar and Hariana cattle and Murra buffaloes are being established. The Creamery at Anand, which has been permanently taken over by the Imperial Department of Agriculture, has been equipped with an experimental milk condensing plant with a view to manufacturing sweetened and unsweetened condensed milk from village buffalo milk.

Over 700 pedigree bulls of different breeds were distributed from departmental farms in the provinces during the year.

With a view to stimulating and fostering the recently awakened interest in cattle-breeding and dairying matters a quarterly journal called "The Journal of the Central Bureau for Animal Husbandry and Dairying in India" has been started from April 1927. It will aim at disseminating information regarding the progress made in establishing pedigreed herds, the merits of the different breeds, new methods of growing and storing fodders in the dry state and as ensilage, animal nutrition, cattle diseases, courses of training in animal husbandry and dairying, etc. For the first number of this Journal, His Excellency the Viceroy graciously contributed a foreword which attracted much attention.



In last year's Report we mentioned that during the year ending 31st March 1926, which is the last year for which accurate veterinary statistics are available, rinderpest raged with an almost unprecedented virulence in all the major provinces except Bihar and Orissa. During the 12 months ending March the 31st, 1927, the ravages of the disease appreciably abated in the Bombay Presidency, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa,

and the total reported mortality from contagious diseases dropped from 399,845 to 322,331 in 1926-27. Of the latter figure, as many as 203,717 deaths were from rinderpest. The provinces which suffered most were Burma, Bengal and Assam, each of which lost through rinderpest over 30,000 animals, while the Punjab, Madras and the United Provinces each recorded more than 20,000 deaths from the disease. The number of preventive inoculations performed, amounted to 1,527,213, as against 1,550,199 in the previous year. As inoculation is purely voluntary, except in notified areas in the Madras Presidency, these figures indicate that the confidence of the Indian peasant in the Veterinary Department is growing.

The number of hospitals and dispensaries maintained for the treatment of disease rose from 720 to 786, and the cases treated therein from 1,742,048 to 1,904,478. Also, 1,226,256 cases were treated by itinerant veterinary officers. The total number of 3,130,734 cases treated, as against 2,839,688 in the previous year, is another indication of the fact that old prejudices are dying out and that the beneficient work of the Veterinary Department is appreciated by cattle-owners.

In addition to the saving of cattle life from the ravages of disease, the Veterinary Department performs on a fairly large scale in some provinces the important function of emasculating inferior and undesirable bulls and of thereby rendering them incapable of propagating their kind. The department is thus preparing the way for the distribution of selected stud bulls. During the year under review, 343,443 scrub bulls were castrated, as against 195,427 in 1924-25. This increase of 75 per cent. in two years would be quite satisfactory were it not for the fact that it has been contributed mainly by one province. In other provinces some aversion to the operation still persists and it is not without significance that the number of bulls offered for emasculation is particularly small in provinces where the worst types of cattle are to be found.

In view of the continued heavy toll levied by Rinderpest it is not surprising that last year's record demand for the products of the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research at Muktesar was exceeded and 63,18,758 doses of different sera and vaccines were issued. After meeting this heavy demand, over 4·8 million doses remained in stock at the close of the year. The capacity of the Institute to supply products for combating animal diseases has

been much increased by developing the resources of the sub-station at Izatnagar, where all the required anti-rinderpest serum is now manufactured. It is anticipated that there will always be three-yearly periods of depression alternated with similar periods of recrudescence of rinderpest in India until permanent immunity is conferred on all bovines, but the last two years' experience gives reason for hoping that when the next period of recrudescence arrives, Muktesar will be in a position to meet in full the consequent demand for serum.

For the training of students in veterinary science, there are colleges at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Lahore and schools at Insein and Taunggyi in Burma, and the school at Insein will from next year be raised to the status of a college. The veterinary college which is to be constructed at Patna in Bihar and Orissa will begin to admit students in 1929. This college will have a cattle-breeding and dairy farm attached to it where students will get practical instruction in animal husbandry and dairying. The number of students who passed the diploma examinations of the colleges was 59, as against 50 in the previous year, but the supply of trained veterinary assistants turned out by the colleges at present falls short of the requirements in some provinces. However, proposals are under consideration in Madras to raise the number of stipends, and in the Punjab to start a two-year vernacular course which will equip a man for field work in rural areas.



Another department whose operations have intimate and important relations with the progress of agriculture and the welfare of the agricultural population is the Forest Department. The Forest Departments in this country are organised on a provincial basis just as the Agricultural Departments now are, but just as the Central Government maintains establishments for education and research in agriculture, in the same way it shoulders the burden of expenditure on research into forestry problems and certain forms of technical education.

The great forests of India are located for the most part in the hills, but there are forests and woods in the plains interspersed with cultivation. More than 20 per cent. of the surface of British India is land classified as forest and administered by the Forest Department. In spite of this, however, such a large proportion of the

forests is situated in high and inaccessible hill localities that it is generally true to say that the most of them are inaccessible to cultivators the majority of whom derive no direct benefits from the forests proper. Nevertheless, there is cultivation on the fringes of many of the forests, and many cultivated or grazing areas are to be found within their limits amounting in the aggregate to a considerable area. More than 30 years ago the forests of India were officially divided into the following four classes; forests, which are important for climatic or physical reasons; forests, from which the main supplies of valuable or useful timbers are derived; forests, which yield the minor timber or other products or small supplies of the more valuable timbers; and lastly, forests, which are really grazing grounds. This classification shows how largely the forests of a country can influence its general welfare, for they are more than a mere factor in its economy. They are part of its very make-up, influencing its climate and other natural conditions, not, perhaps, so powerfully as its hills and mountains, but still appreciably, and capable of proving an immensely valuable asset in its commerce, its agriculture, and its animal husbandry. Here, however, we are concerned only to show how the work of the Indian Forest Department concerns the general welfare of the people of India and more particularly of the agricultural population of this country.

We said above that the great mass of the agricultural population derive no direct benefit from the forests proper, but the indirect benefits are immense and in considering them we can start with the very foundations of agriculture—with climate, rainfall and the preservation of cultivable soil. Forests hold together the fertile surface soil; they store water and dole it out gradually, thus preventing disastrous floods and the formation of ravines; by checking erosion they prevent good soil from being washed into the rivers, and carried away to waste. They also directly increase the fertility of the land, being capable of forming rich vegetable mould even from mineral soils. Finally, in India, forests are a valuable asset in times of scarcity or famine, for they yield vast quantities of fodder and provide edible fruits and roots of which the poor readily avail themselves. Advantage of the visit of the Royal Agricultural Commission has been taken by forest officers to lay stress on the immense benefits that forestry can bestow on the cultivator by providing him with wood fuel so that cow-dung may be used as

manure. Like nearly every other division of the earth's surface, India was once far more densely wooded than she is at present. It seems probable that for centuries before the British Government in India took cognisance of India's forest problem, the process of deforestation went on steadily. The historic forests of the Gangetic plain have been sadly depleted, and although in some places the disappearance of the forests made for the spread of cultivation, in other places the once wooded slopes and plains are now barren and desolate. As the traveller goes about India, he will encounter many examples of the resentment of nature at the thoughtless or ignorant dispoiling of her beneficial provision of forest trees and lesser growths of undergrowth and grass. He will see ravines and barren lands pouring down sand steadily to encroach on good tilt. Dim traces in now sterile hills, of dimunitive irrigation channels and tunnels mark the spots where springs and streams, long since dried up, enabled a vanished population to reap a harvest from ground which brings forth in these days nothing better than cactus or dwarf palm. Where there is good soil, it cannot yield its full return to the cultivator since the manure which ought to go into it has to be burnt in place of the wood fuel now unobtainable. Fortunately the forests of the high hills in which India's mighty rivers rise, were always too vast and remote for them to suffer from human inroads. Had they been deforested in days gone by, it is certain that many of the great irrigation schemes of India, which depend for their existence on the perennial water supply of the great rivers, would not have come into being and the almost incalculable benefits which they have conferred upon the country would have been lost. For the past two generations it has been the duty of the Indian Forest Department to act as nature's steward, to reclaim for her as much as possible of her lost possessions, and to protect her from the ravages which folly or ignorance would still inflict upon her. Naturally enough their work sometimes brings the officers of the Department into conflict with those who are affected by their operations. Restrictions upon the grazing of cattle, the felling of trees and the lighting of fires, all of which are so necessary for the conservation of India's forest wealth, are frequently resented by those classes of the population whose activities are thereby restrained, and from time to time agitations, more or less serious, are set on foot against the Department. But on the other hand, the more sagacious of those who are affected by the

working of the Forest Department realise that they must forego immediate and temporary advantages if they are to receive the permanent benefits which work of the Forest Department can bestow, and public opinion is in some places being enlisted in support of the Department. In Madras, for example, considerable tracts of forests covering, in the aggregate, about 3,200 square miles have been handed over to the management of village panchayats or committees of leading men, who, it is believed, have understood their responsibilities. A special officer attached to the provincial Board of Revenue scrutinizes the work of the panchayats. The Board decides how many cattle should be allowed to graze in any particular panchayat area and also settles the rent for that area, but everything else is left to the panchayats themselves. At present it is not possible to say whether this system is likely to be extended to other provinces, but an officer belonging to the Forest Department of the United Provinces has recently been put on special duty to study the working of the Madras scheme.

It will hardly be denied by any one who studies the conditions that the provincial forest departments have done their best to hold the balance even between the rights and conveniences of the agriculturists and the latters' and the country's permanent interests. Even if we exclude Burma, no fewer than 13 million animals graze in Government forests at nominal fees varying from 2 annas to Rs. 2 per annum, and of these animals, 4½ millions get free grazing. Moreover, it is estimated that the total value of rights and concessions enjoyed by villagers every year from the administered forests amounts to more than half a million sterling. Rights so extensive, unless carefully controlled and scientifically regulated, are capable of inflicting severe damage upon the forest resources of the country, and Mr. A. Rodger, the Inspector General of Forests and President of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, has spoken of the "terrible damage caused in India by excessive grazing". A few figures will show how extensive are the rights of grazing enjoyed by villagers in Government forests. All unclassed forests, or those areas which have not been reserved or protected and are for the most part situated in inaccessible and undeveloped tracts, are open to grazing, whilst of 85,074 square miles of reserved and protected forest, 43,502 square miles are open to grazing. More than a quarter of all the cattle of the Central Provinces and Berar graze in Government forests, and the percentage of the cattle of the

Punjab and Bombay, which graze in the Government forests of those two provinces is also appreciable. It is commonly assumed by opponents of the Forest Departments that an almost limitless extension of grazing in government forests is possible. The figures already quoted show that this is not true. In fact, it has been authoritatively estimated that the useful grazing land enclosed in forests, where neither grazing, nor grass-cutting is at present allowed, is probably less than 5 per cent. of the total area available as grazing land in British India. The Forest Department now manages to return an appreciable net profit to the Government of India every year. In 1925-26 this profit was more than Rs. 2½ crores, a very gratifying result when it is remembered that in neither the United States nor Canada are the State forests paying concerns. There is no reason to doubt that the Indian forests will become increasingly profitable to the Indian Government as improvements in methods of transportation, in silvicultural research, and other technical matters are effected, and as the work now being carried on in the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun is enlarged. The area of the forests in connection with which the Research Institute works is 160,000,000 acres, indeed more, because Indian States have also large forests in addition to the above area. This area is about one quarter of the area of British India, and the gross revenue realised from the forests in the year 1925-26 was Rs. 5·98 crores. In the year 1912-13 the gross revenue was Rs. 3·22 crores. This all but doubling of the gross revenue in 13 years may fairly be ascribed in part to the work done in forest research in India since 1906. This research is principally economic, but a great deal of work has also been done by the silvicultural and chemical branches of the Research Institute, and the results of this have already been apparent. In the botanical and entomological branches it is naturally much more difficult to make visible and measureable progress within a short period of years.

Silvicultural research has helped largely by developing the scientific side of tree growing and by introducing more correct methods of estimating the correct yield from a forest. In many instances the volume of timber annually removed from an area is too small and it has been found that the forests can yield more timber and can be worked profitably under a shorter rotation. But it must be remembered that by far the greater part of the silvicultural experimental work is not nearly complete and will not be

really useful for some years to come. When we know how all our best forests should be worked, the increase in revenue from them is bound to be very large.



Turning to economic research we see that this branch at Dehra Dun has developed more than any other during the last ten years. To give only one example, the important subject of lac propagation, into which research is undertaken both at Dehra Dun and at Ranchi in Bihar and Orissa, has received much attention and many new facts about it have been observed and recorded. The methods of sowing and harvesting lac have been much improved, and the area under this product has been largely extended. Lac provides a very large annual revenue to the department, and the value of this exported last year was Rs. 7·55 crores. India provides practically all the shellac in the world. In the matter of timber research a great deal of information has been collected about the qualities of the more important timbers available all over the Indian Empire and this has been recorded and published. During the last few years several sections of the economic branch have been established which submit all the important timbers to every conceivable kind of test, and in addition investigate other products on a large scale.

The important subject of Wood Technology has been the subject of study for some years at the Research Institute and valuable results have been obtained. Timber Testing has also been carried out on a large scale at Dehra Dun with the object of establishing the relative strengths both of well-known and of unknown Indian woods, and also their relative strengths as compared with well-known foreign timbers. In this way a mass of reliable data, constantly growing in value, is being collected with the object of determining the suitability of Indian woods for specific uses, such as for beams, sleepers, bridge parts and other common uses. Nearly a dozen complete electrically fitted testing machines have been installed at Dehra Dun, and it is doubtful whether a more complete testing shop exists anywhere in the world. The Expert-in-charge of the Timber Seasoning Section has done a great deal of valuable work on the seasoning of timbers by air and by the Tiemann and Sturtevant processes. His task is to show how timber may increase its value by careful and scientific seasoning, to turn perishable soft woods into useful timber, and to defeat the

many parasites, insect and vegetable, which ruin growing wood in India. The institute is also going thoroughly into the question of the minor forest products of India. In addition to lac, which has already been mentioned, the many bamboos, canes, fodder plants, resins, oils, gums, dye-stuffs, drugs and so on, need to be developed. As the President of the Institute says, few forest species can be found which yield nothing of use to man, and as Burma alone has about 3,000 woody plants and bamboos the extent of the field open to investigation is easily imagined. The Institute can now teach paper pulp manufacturers how to treat the different kinds of bamboos in the best and most economical manner, and when the price of pulp becomes favourable, there should be great wealth in the enormous bamboo forests of India and Burma. In silviculture some exceptionally valuable work has been done. Transplanting experiments with seedlings under various conditions have been carried out, and much research on regeneration, particularly the difficult subject of *sal* regeneration, has been done.

The Entomological Branch of the Dehra Dun Institute was the first to show that the large scale control of a forest insect in India could be a profitable operation. A serious investigation into defoliators of teak has been carried out in Madras, and 24,000 insects have been bred out. The immense damage done by a beetle to the valuable *sal* trees of Central and Northern India has been investigated and stopped by the Entomological Branch—an achievement of prime economic importance. The Chemical Branch too, comparatively small though it is, has done a great amount of very useful work in collaboration with the Economic Branch, especially in the investigation of Minor Forest Products and wood preservatives.

The building of the new Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, which, it is hoped, will be the finest Forest Research Institute in the world, is nearing completion and the new Insectary for the study of Indian forest insects has already been occupied.



We may now glance very briefly at the progress of Forest Research during 1927-28 under a few of its more important heads.

Silviculture.—The Silviculture work undertaken both at Dehra Dun and in the Provinces in connection with sample plots in the

forests continued to expand. In Forest economy much progress was made in investigations into timber testing, artificial seasoning of timber, wood-working, the manufacture of pulp from bamboos and grasses, and the utilisation of minor forest products, such as oils, seeds, and resins. Work was done at Dehra Dun, in Madras, Burma and elsewhere.

Much progress was made in systematic work in Forest Botany and a Forest Mycologist was appointed at the Forest Research Institute.

The most important problem of Forest Entomology dealt with during the year was a severe attack by a borer on *sal* trees in the Central Provinces. The measures initiated to control it were most successful.

Increasing attention has been given during recent years to the problem of markets for Indian timbers and Mr. C. S. Martin, Chief Forest Engineer in Madras, has recently visited Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq and East and South Africa and has made many valuable suggestions for introducing to those countries the woods of the Andamans, Bombay, Madras and Burma. Further, in order to examine thoroughly the whole question of marketing in Europe and to assist the High Commissioner in clearing up the stocks of Indian timber remaining unsold in London, Sir Peter Clutterbuck was appointed Timber Adviser to the High Commissioner for a period of one year from 1st January 1927. The results obtained by him have been highly satisfactory in so far as orders to the extent of £22,535 have been booked with his assistance during the ten months ending October 1927. The Secretary of State has, therefore, decided to retain his services experimentally for a further period of 3 years as a whole time Timber Adviser.

The invitation extended by the Commonwealth Government of Australia to the Empire Forestry Conference to be held in Australia and New Zealand in the Autumn of 1928 has been accepted by the Government of India and both they and Provincial Governments will be suitably represented.

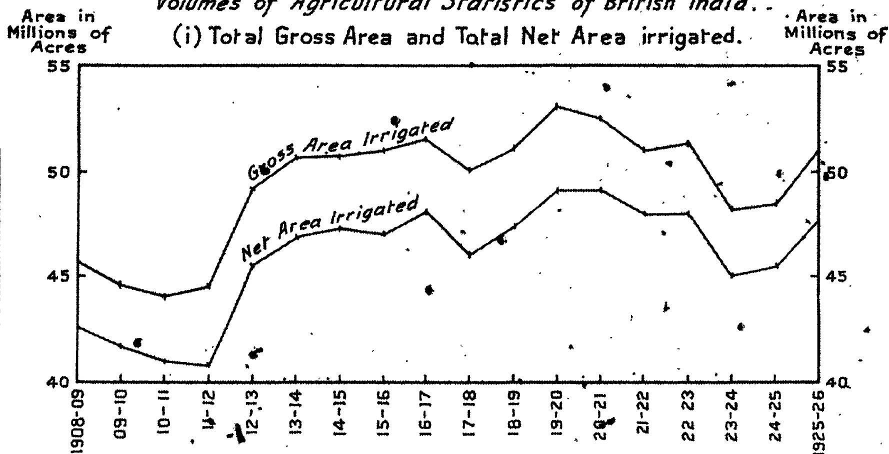


From Forests we turn to the consideration of irrigation, another master factor in Indian agriculture. Except in the sub-montane

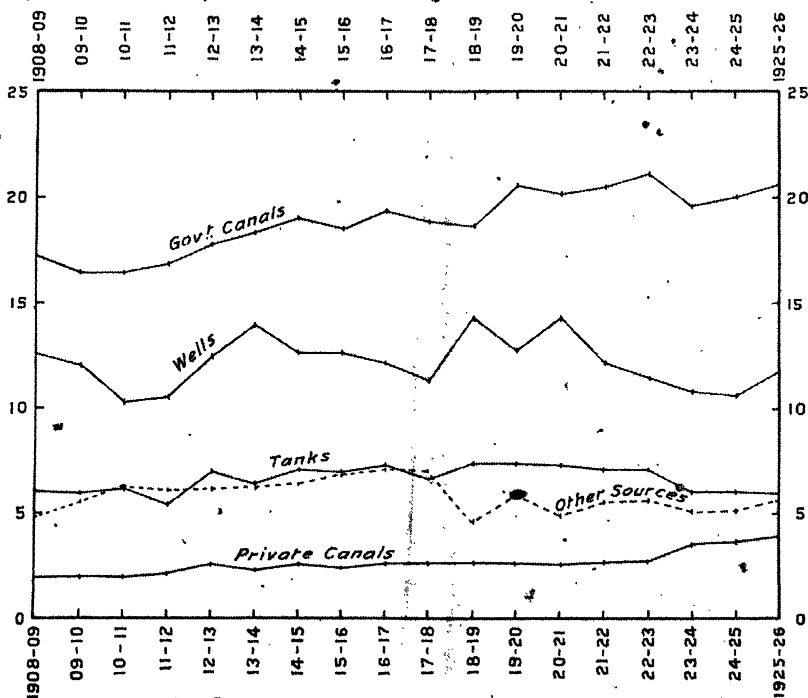
AREA IRRIGATED IN BRITISH INDIA

Note:– *The figures for this graph have been taken from the annual Volumes of Agricultural Statistics of British India.*

(i) Total Gross Area and Total Net Area irrigated.



(ii) Net Area irrigated by various sources.



In the Gross Area irrigated, areas sown twice under irrigation are counted twice.

tracts of the Himalayas, Eastern Bengal, Assam, Lower Burma, and the narrow strip between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, the absolute security of the harvest throughout India depends upon some form or other of irrigation. From very ancient times, the different systems of irrigation now in employment were used in this country. Wells, storage reservoirs, damming the beds of streams and irrigation canals have all been familiar for long enough to Indian engineers and agriculturists. The natural factors to be redressed by irrigation, and the systems of irrigation adopted, are, of course, different in different parts of India on account of the varied physical conditions. In Sind and many parts of the Punjab there would be no crops at all were it not for irrigation; in parts of Central India, although a satisfactory crop may often be harvested by the help of the rainfall, some form of irrigation is needed as an insurance in years of scanty rainfall, and, lastly, there are localities where canal irrigation, at any rate, is only necessary as a precaution against famine. The lines on which irrigation in British India have been carried on for the past quarter of a century were laid down by the famous Irrigation Commission appointed by Lord Curzon in 1901. Since 1908, accurate irrigation statistics have been recorded in the " Agricultural Statistics of India ", and it is interesting to note the progress in irrigation since that date. A glance at the graph facing this page will enable the reader to take this in without the necessity of recourse to columns of figures. The largest area hitherto irrigated was recorded during the year 1920-21 and since that time a succession of good monsoons has reduced the demand for irrigation, particularly in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. It is specially instructive to examine the part played by irrigation in the agriculture of the different provinces, and in this connection the following figures, which are averages of the five years 1921-22 to 1925-26, may be admitted because of their great interest.

It would be wearisome to the reader to show the figures for government irrigation systems, that is, for irrigation under works which have been constructed or are maintained wholly or partially by the State but it may be mentioned that during the five years ending with the year 1925-26, on an average 11·8 per cent. of the entire cropped area of the country was irrigated by government irrigation works. The collective value of the crops raised on the area

so irrigated amounted to one-and-a-half times the total capital expended on the works.

Province.	Gross area sown.	Gross area of crops irrigated (from government and private sources).	Percentage of area irrigated to area sown.
	Acres (in 000's).	Acres (in 000's).	
Assam	6,379	364	5·7
Bengal	27,777	1,710	6·2
Bihar and Orissa	31,021	5,386	17·4
Bombay Proper	27,764	1,092	3·9
Bombay Sind	4,451	3,281	73·7
Burma	17,172	1,436	8·4
Central Provinces and Berar	26,726	1,110	4·2
Madras	37,691	11,208	29·7
North-West Frontier Province	2,673	919	34·4
Punjab	30,970	13,644	44·1
United Provinces	43,739	9,630	22·0
Minor Administrations	807	156	19·3
TOTAL	257,170	49,936	19·4

Of the different systems of irrigation in use in this country, that is, canal, tank, well and other irrigation such as lift irrigation from rivers and the construction of temporary dams for holding up flood water or rainfall, canals are by far the most important, indeed, are of more importance than all the other classes combined. Government irrigation works comprise both tanks and canals, the former being generally small affairs which derive their importance from their vast numbers. In Madras alone there are over 35,000 petty irrigation works serving from 2½ to 3 million acres. Therefore tanks are entirely over-shadowed by the canals which are the glory of the Indian Irrigation System. Of two kinds, canals draw their supplies either from perennial rivers or from water stored in artificial reservoirs. The first kind are those based on rivers rising in the Himalayas where the snow acts as an inexhaustible source of supply during the dry months of the year, whilst the latter are principally associated with the rivers rising in the Peninsula proper, where no such natural storage is available. The most important storage works are those in the Madras

Presidency, the Deccan, the Central Provinces, and in Bundelkhand ranging in size from small earthen embankments to enormous dams such as that now under construction at Mettur on the Cauvery, in the Madras Presidency will be capable of impounding over 90,000 million cubic feet of water. Canals which draw their supplies from perennial rivers may again be divided into perennial and inundation canals. The former are provided with headworks enabling water to be drawn from the river irrespective of its natural level by means of some obstruction placed in its bed whereby the water may reach the height required to secure admission to the canal. Within this class fall the great perennial systems of the Punjab and the United Provinces. Inundation canals have no such means of control, and water only finds its way into them when the natural level of the river reaches the necessary height. The most important inundation canals in India are those of Sind and, indeed, upon them depends the whole irrigation of the Province at present. But they also exist in the Punjab and draw their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries.

During the year 1926-27, the total area, excluding Indian States, under irrigation by Government works amounted to 28·2 million acres. This represented 13 per cent. of the entire cropped area of the country, and was slightly below the record area of 28⅓ million acres irrigated in 1922-23. The total length of main and branch canals and distributaries in operation amounted to about 67,000 miles, whilst the estimated value of the crops supplied with water from Government works was Rs. 140 crores. The area irrigated was largest in the Punjab where 10·5 million acres were irrigated during the year. In addition 6,42,000 acres were irrigated from channels, which, although drawing their supplies from British canals, lie wholly in the Indian States. Next among the Indian Provinces came the Madras Presidency, with an area of 7 million acres, followed by Sind with 3·5 million acres, and the United Provinces with 3 million acres. The total capital outlay on irrigation and navigation works, including works under construction, amounted at the end of the year 1926-27 to Rs. 108·1 crores. The gross revenue was Rs. 11·5 crores, and the working expenses Rs. 4·5 crores. The net return on capital is therefore 6·5 per cent.



Irrigation development proceeds apace and the more important of the new projects under construction may now be described. The greatest of these are the Sukkur Barrage in Sind and the Sutlej Valley Project in the Punjab. The object of the former is to give an assured supply to, and extend the irrigation now provided by the numerous inundation canals in Sind. This will be achieved by the construction of a barrage nearly a mile long between abutments across the Indus, and it will be by far the biggest work of its kind yet built. From above the barrage seven canals, which, with their branches, will total nearly 1,600 miles, whilst the total length of the distributaries will be about 3,700 miles, will take off irrigating over 5 million acres. Of this area, 2 million acres represent existing inundation irrigation to which an assured supply will be given, but the remainder of the area is at present entirely uncultivated. The sanctioned estimate of the cost of the scheme amounts to £13·8 millions. Steady progress was made on this scheme during the year 1926-27. The first season's programme of permanent works on the river was carried out with complete success, and substantial progress has been made with the excavation of canals and branches.

Coming now to the Sutlej Valley project in the Punjab, there are on either bank of the Sutlej, in British territory on the north, and in Bahawalpur territory on the south, a long series of inundation canals, which draw their supply from the river whenever the water is high enough to permit it. These canals are liable to all the drawbacks of irrigation by inundation. There are no weirs at their heads, and, in many cases no means of controlling the volume of water entering them. Consequently while the water supply is assured during the monsoon months of a normal year, it is liable to serious fluctuations according to seasonal conditions. In a year of inferior rainfall, little water enters the canals; in a year of heavy rainfall, they are liable to grave damage by floods.

It is to remedy this state of affairs that the Sutlej Valley project has been taken in hand. By it, the existing canals will be given an assured and controlled supply from April to October and their scope will be extended so as to embrace the whole low-lying area in the river valley. Further, perennial irrigation will be afforded to the uplands on both banks, which are at present entirely unirrigated, and, owing to the low rainfall of the locality are lying waste. The project consists of four weirs, three on

the Sutlej, and one on the combined Sutlej and Chenab, with ten main canals taking off from above them. This multiplicity of canals and weirs seems a peculiar feature of the scheme, until it is realised that the project consists of four inter-connected systems, each of the first magnitude. The canals are designed to utilise 48,500 cusecs during the hot weather and the monsoon, and 7,000 cusecs during the cold weather. Over 5 million acres will be irrigated, of which 2 million will be in the Punjab, 2·8 million in Bahawalpur, and 0·34 million in Bikanir. The full value of the project will be understood when it is said that the project will bring 3¾ million acres of desert waste under cultivation. Three out of the four headworks projected have now been completed and a total of Rs. 1,201 lakhs had been expended by the end of the year 1926-27. A fresh estimate for the project amounting to Rs. 2,376 lakhs received the sanction of the Secretary of State in November 1927.



Another project of the first magnitude, which is at present under construction in the United Provinces, is the Sarda Canal. This scheme was originally sanctioned in two portions, the Sarda Kichha Feeder Project, comprising the head-works and the main line and western branch of the system which were sanctioned in 1919 and the Sarda (Oudh) Canal, comprising the Southern branches which were sanctioned in 1921. The whole system embraces some 650 miles of main canal and branches, 3,600 miles of distributaries, and 110 miles of escapes. Work on the project is nearing completion and it is anticipated that construction will be finished and the canal opened for irrigation, during the year 1929-30. The entire system is expected to irrigate over 1⅓ million acres and to produce a return of 7 per cent. on the estimated capital cost of £7 millions.



In March 1925, the Secretary of State sanctioned the Cauvery Reservoir Project in the Madras Presidency at an estimated cost of £4·6 millions. The project has been framed with two main objects in view; first, to improve the existing fluctuating water supplies for the Cauvery delta irrigation of over a million acres, and secondly, to extend irrigation to a new area of 301,000 acres, which will, it is estimated, add 150,000 tons of rice to the food

supply of the country. The scheme provides for a large dam at Mettur on the Cauvery to store over 90,000 million cubic feet of water, and for a canal nearly 88 miles long with a connected distributary system. Good progress was made during the year 1926-27 on preliminary and preparatory works for this important project, and work on the excavation of foundations for the main dam has also been started.

Among other irrigation projects which deserve notice, we may mention those which are now being carried out in the Deccan. The Bhandardara dam, which is the highest in India, has been completed, and the Lloyd dam, which is the largest mass of masonry in the world, is nearing completion. Irrigation from the great lakes formed by these dams is rapidly being developed in the valleys below them, the Bhandardara dam supplying the Pravara Canals and the Lloyd dam supplying the large Nira Canals system. Irrigation in the Pravara area has grown very rapidly, and lands on these canals are now covered with valuable sugarcane crops where before hardly any crops could be grown. The Nira valley project, consisting of the new Nira Right Bank Canal and extension of the Nira Left Bank Canal, will, when completed, command a total culturable area of about 675,000 acres, and this scheme will then be the largest in the Deccan. The completion of the great storage works at Bhandardara and at Bhatgar will allow a considerable extension of the total irrigable area, and, when fully developed, the present major irrigation schemes in the Deccan will be capable of irrigating over 450,000 acres annually. Almost every other province has irrigation projects in preparation, and those which are likely to be completed within a reasonable time will, it is estimated, add over 6 million acres to the irrigated area, whilst by the time the projects now under construction are in full working order, a total of 40 million acres under irrigation is expected. When allowance is made for the natural expansion of existing schemes, an ultimate area of 50 million acres under irrigation by Government works is not improbable.



As we have seen above, irrigation in India does not end with her canals. Wells are and always will be a vital factor in Indian irrigation; in these also, Government takes an active interest, which is continually increasing. The improvement of their efficiency by



MAMMOTH IRRIGATION SCHEME.

This is the easterly portion of the Sukkur Barrage Area viewed from the air comprising the familiar Gorge and Bridge.

subartesian bores and the installation of power pumping plants form one of the principal features of the programme of the engineering sections of the Agricultural Department. During the short period of its existence, the department has been instrumental in increasing the capacity of thousands of existing wells and in digging or sinking an equally large number of new ones. In 1926-27 the number of wells bored by Government was 2,769, of which 2,125 were successful. The number bored in the preceding year was 1,879 of which 1,293 were successful. There is great scope for the instalment of power pumps for water lifts driven by bullocks or man power. Some progress in this direction has been made, but the plant will require to be standardized, and capital, or at least credit, provided before this method of lifting water is adopted on a large scale.



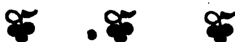
We have now surveyed the work, and the relationship which it bears to the welfare of the agriculturist of the vast majority of the Indian population, of these three great departments, Agriculture, Forests and Irrigation. In their operations we see human knowledge and ingenuity busying themselves on the fringe of great natural processes, harnessing and using them as far as our limited powers and the forbearance of nature will permit. Enough has been said in the preceding pages to show that any improvement in the general welfare of the agricultural population of India will not result from the adoption of any facile formula or dogmatic theorising, nor will it be achieved by progress along any one line. It will come slowly and as the result of developments, changes and improvements in many varied fields of activity—in agricultural and veterinary research, in education, hygiene, road building, well sinking, co-operative buying and selling, and so forth—from changes in social customs, laws of inheritance and traditional beliefs, from the development of banking to provide in greater abundance the vitalising streams of credit whereby the growth of India's industries will be fostered and with them the rise of near-by markets for agricultural produce and outlets for the increasing population which presses now so heavily on the land. Along all these ways the increased well-being of India's agricultural masses must be sought.



The percentage of the Indian population, which is occupied in industrial occupations of all kinds, may seem small when compared with that major portion which gains its living from agriculture and allied pursuits. Nevertheless, in the aggregate it is large, and a recent writer has pointed to the very striking fact that Indian workers in industries, mines, and transport outnumber the whole population of Spain. India holds undisputed rank among the great industrial countries of the world and the memorandum sent from the India Office to the Secretary General of the League of Nations in 1921 stating India's claim to be regarded as one of the eight states of chief industrial importance in the world shows the grounds on which the claim is based. In the Jute industry she leads the world. The size of her Cotton industry is surpassed by only four other countries in the world. She possesses important and flourishing iron and steel works, mills and foundries of all sorts, dockyards, paper mills, match factories and so on. As far back as 1921 the census report showed that not far short of 16 million persons were engaged in industrial pursuits in India, nearly 2 millions in transport, and over quarter of a million in mining. Altogether about 18 million persons are occupied in these three great branches of labour alone, in India. In the year ending March 31st, 1927, the value of manufactured articles exported from India reached the great sum of over 853 millions of rupees, that is roughly £64 million sterling—a high figure when one remembers India's enormous home market and that she has a virtual monopoly in that market for some of her productions.

The condition of Indian industrial labour is, therefore, an element of vast importance in the welfare and well-being of the Indian population generally. In this report it would not be possible, even were space available, to do more than state the condition of Indian labour in the very broadest outlines. Here and there, notably in Bombay, enquiries have been made into the conditions of life, the housing, wages, and standard of living generally, of the industrial population, but hitherto hardly more than the outer fringe of the subject has been touched. There is a great dearth of accurate statistical and other data concerning the conditions under which the working classes live in towns. The Labour Office of the Bombay Secretariat, the Central Government's Report on the working of the Mines and Factories Act, the Reports of the Labour Commissioner in Madras, and the activities of various other

Government officials, of Government or *quasi*-Government institutions, and of a few private bodies, are beginning to lighten the darkness which hangs over this part of the Indian scene, but a comprehensive survey into Indian Industry and industrial labour conditions, on the lines of that recently undertaken by the Royal Agricultural Commission, is becoming steadily more desirable.



In spite, however, of the large number of persons engaged in industrial and kindred pursuits in this country, and in spite of the somewhat impressive development of Indian industry during the past half century, it is still true to say that the Indian industrial army is not entirely composed of regulars. The greater part of Indian industrial labour army is supplied by the lowest stratum of agricultural labour, namely, the landless labourers. The lot of these people in their villages is not a happy one and as the isolation of the Indian village is increasingly breaking down—a process which we glanced at earlier in this chapter—the agricultural labourer is given a chance to try to improve his position by migrating to the towns. He is joined by the small land-holder who, for some reason or other, has lost his land, and by many who still farm their ancestral holdings, but find it necessary to supplement their holding by spells of work in the towns. Many of the industrial labourers remain permanently in the towns with their families, but the hearts of the vast majority are in the villages to which they return at intervals more or less frequent. A severe or prolonged strike will send them flocking by tens of thousands out of the city back to their own homes (from which some of them may not return). This temporary and migratory character of Indian labour is one of the causes of its comparative inefficiency both in industrial achievement and in organisation. It is one of the reasons for the low level of industrial wages in India. It causes rises in wages, for example, to be often swallowed up in increased absenteeism, and it enables other classes, such as the labour jobber and the money-lender, to batten on the wage-earners. Low as are the average wages of the Indian industrial worker, they would yet be sufficient to give him a better standard of living if the receipt of them in their entirety could be guaranteed him. Fortunately a good beginning has been made in this desirable direction. All over India, humane and progressive employers are

developing welfare work among their workmen, and here and there, social service and other philanthropic bodies are assisting in the development of co-operation as an alternative to the money-lender. The drink traffic is being ever more strictly regulated, and the housing problem has, in many places, been receiving considerable attention for some time past from employers as well as from municipal and other public authorities.



It is, unfortunately, impossible to say much that is of general application about the wages of industrial labourer in India. We have already referred briefly to two enquiries carried out in Bombay and the Punjab which showed that the real wages of both agricultural and industrial labourer had increased appreciably during the ten years ending with 1922. Bombay is unique in her possession of fairly extensive though now not very up-to-date statistics of wages paid in the principal industries in Bombay City and in one or two other cities within the Presidency, and the following representative figures taken from statistics published by the Bombay Government may be regarded as giving some idea of the probable figures in the big industrial areas elsewhere, and as indicative of a standard of living which possibly does not vary very considerably from one industrial area to another.

The statement which is given as Appendix No. III to this book shows the budgets of married and single men belonging to five classes of labourers in the Bombay Presidency. The figures are out of date as they relate to a period as far back as May, 1921 to April, 1922, but they are the latest we have got. And in any case, if a similar survey of the working man's budgets were taken at the present day it is likely that the percentages arrived at in 1922 would repeat themselves to-day. Working then with caution and reserve we may take it that the highest incomes of each of the five classes of working men shown in the statement represent in each case a fair average of the incomes of each of those classes at the present day. This is of course only a guess.



On an analysis of that part of the statement relating to the budgets of married men, we find that the income of Weavers exceeds their expenditure by 19 per cent. and that they, as a class,

save most. Next after weavers, in living well within their income, come spinners, whose income exceeds their expenditure by almost 14 per cent. Indeed, from the statement it appears that the workers in the Spinning and Weaving Mills in Bombay are more thrifty, as a class, than those of any of the other three classes. The statement also shows that Dock Labourers are, at first sight, the least thrifty of the five classes whose budgets are before us. The reason for their apparent thriftlessness, however, will be explained further on.

Looking now at the various items of expenditure, we learn that food accounts for more than 50 per cent. of the working man's expenses. As a matter of fact, the Dock Labourer spends 60 per cent. of his income on food, no doubt because his work makes it necessary for him to take more nourishment than those need who are engaged in less strenuous manual work. It also accounts for his very small savings at the end of the month. The item "Common Conventional luxuries" is made up of liquor and betelnut and works out, roughly, to 5 and 6 per cent., respectively, in the case of all workers, except the scavenger who spends 1 per cent. more on liquor than do the other classes. The expenditure on the two items Clothing, and House rent is fairly equal throughout all the five classes, ranging between 6 to 9 per cent. of their total expenditure except again in the case of the scavenger. The interest the working man pays on debts amounts to rather less than 2 per cent. of his expenditure (1·5 to 2·3, roughly, of his income), which, considering all things, cannot be said to be excessive. The contrast between the budget of the scavenger and those of the other classes included in the statement is curious. He spends as much as 12 per cent. and more on common luxuries, 10 per cent. on clothes and only 2 per cent. on house-rent, but he pays more than 6 per cent. in interest on debt, that is, more than three times what the other workers spend.



Turning now to the Single man's budget we might begin by explaining that the term "single man" is meant not an unmarried man without any dependants, but a married man whose family and dependants are living away from him.

The budget shows that the single man like the married man spends most of his income on food, this item in his budget bearing

much the same ratio as the married man's to his total expenditure. But whereas the married man's expenditure on common conventional luxuries amounts to 11 or 12 per cent. of his total expenditure, the single man's expenditure under this head reaches a percentage of from 21·5 to 27. The interest he pays on debts is also higher than the interest paid by his married brother.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the statement is that the standard of living or of comfort among the working classes in India is low, and, in the cases of families earning under Rs. 30, very low indeed.

One fact which is not brought out in the statement is that the expenditure on Education is still disappointingly low, being *nil* in the lowest class, and negligible in the other classes, except in the highest. The average expenditure per month on this head among the working classes works out to two annas eleven pies per family!

However, in spite of the generally depressing appearance of the wages statement which we have been examining, it can be said with confidence that for some years past the real wages of labour, both agricultural and industrial, have tended to rise. But the increase in industrial wages is attended by a strange paradox. The wants of the labourer are few and do not expand very readily, and an increase in wages enables him to satisfy his wants at the cost of less work. With higher wages, therefore, he tends to work for fewer days in the year, and prominent employers in India have on more than one occasion spoken bitterly of the effect of increased wages as a direct incentive to increased idleness.

However this may be, there is no doubt that all but the most highly skilled workmen in India receive wages which are barely sufficient to feed and clothe them or to enable them to live with more than the minimum of comfort or even decency. The proof of this can be seen in the course of a visit to those quarters of any big town where the lower classes of labourers live. A small and utterly insanitary house will accommodate a number of families. Everywhere will be seen overcrowding, dirt and squalid misery. And yet, even the worst of the Bombay Chawls or labourers' tenements, with their badly ventilated rooms, blocked up windows, refuse strewn court-yards, and all the other concomitants of slum life at its worst, represent a standard of housing higher than that engaged by many of the poorest labourers in Indian towns. A few scraps of dirty sacking eked out by the disjecta

membra of ancient kerosine tins have all too often got to suffice to shelter the poorest paid labourer and his family. It is true that the climate of Bombay or Madras is not the climate of England, but even in India we have rains and storms. However, in the past, and particularly within recent years, much has been done to ameliorate the housing conditions in the poorer quarters of Indian towns. In the big presidency cities the improvement trusts have done work of untold value in sweeping away many of the worst and foulest slums and replacing them by dwellings fit for human beings to live in. Municipal authorities also have begun to tackle the housing problems here and there, and much has been done by public bodies and private employers for their workmen. There is a distinct tendency on the part of big employers in India to develop the welfare side, in which housing is one of the most important factors, of their relations with their employees, and a particularly good example is the great industrial town of Jamshedpur where the Tata's Iron and Steel Works are situated. The attention paid there to the housing and general comfort of the work people will stand comparison with that devoted by most employers elsewhere.



We shall discuss shortly the part played by the State, particularly through its mining and industrial legislation, in the uplift of industrial labour in India, but before we do so, it is fitting that we glance briefly at the welfare work now being done by private employers and philanthropic associations. It is true to say that important employers all over India are now taking an active interest in the conditions and surroundings in which their work people live. Not only do the tea gardens, transport companies of all sorts, and the big factories and works keep their own doctors and in many instances run maternity benefits schemes and creches, but some of them provide recreation for their people out of work hours and help to keep them out of drinking and gambling dens. The formation of co-operative stores and credit societies is becoming more and more common, and workmen's institutes are springing up here and there. The Social Service League of Bombay, the famous Servants of India Society, the Poona Seva Sadan Society and others less well-known are all undertaking welfare work of great value and much promise for the future. In most provinces, municipalities are now empowered to make the education of children

between certain ages compulsory, and the Bombay Municipality has already begun to exercise its powers in this respect on a large scale. It is to the education of children of the working classes that we must look for the most hopeful line of attack on the present unsatisfactory conditions in which the great majority of industrial labourers in India live. For, with greater knowledge will come greater discontent with prevailing disabilities, and, what is more, greater capacity to remove them. One of the most satisfactory developments of recent years has been the fall in the employment of children in industry. Already we see in India the first beginnings of a clash between labour and capital and the betterment of the labourers' lot in this country as elsewhere will prove to be a policy not only of humanity, but of good business. Already Indian labour has been "internationalised" and India is one of the original members of the international labour organisation established by the Peace Treaty. Her delegates regularly attend the International Conferences which are held, and conditions of labour in this country must tend more and more to come into line with those in the more advanced countries of the West. Following the adoption of the Draft Conventions and the Recommendation concerning workers' sickness insurance by the International Labour Conference at its tenth session in May and June, 1927, the Government of India propose to ask the Provincial Governments their opinion on the subject of the possibility of introducing into this country a system of sickness insurance either on the lines of the above mentioned Conventions or on different lines. The draft convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases which was adopted at the Seventh Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1925 has been ratified by the Government of India.



Rapidly as the above sketch has been drawn, it has yet been done in sufficient detail to show that attempts are being made towards, and that some progress is being achieved in, the improvement of the conditions of life and work of the large industrial population of India. Visitors to India from other countries, who are interested in labour conditions, are apt to express strong condemnation of Indian employers and the Indian Government as a result of their first impressions of the conditions under which the

workmen in the big cities of India have to live. Unfortunately many of these visitors have time for nothing more than an inspection of the three or four biggest cities in India, and it is only natural that the vision of the worst of Bombay chawls or the foulest of the *bastis* in the jute area should be the one which makes the strongest impression on their mind and stays longest with them. But a visit to Jamshedpur or to those parts of Bombay and Calcutta where Improvement Trusts, Municipal authorities, and enlightened employers are providing model accommodation for work people would undoubtedly tone down many of the dark patches in the pictures which are presented as true representations of the town labourers' life in every industrial occupation all over India. And State action during recent years has powerfully supplemented the action of provincial and subordinate public authorities and employers in this matter of labour uplifts and has applied to Indian conditions many of the results of the experience gained, often with much pain and expense, by the pioneer industrial countries, particularly England. Inevitably, the action of the Central Government is practically confined to legislation, that is, to marking a level below which conditions of labour in factory, mine, dockyard or railway repairing shed, shall not fall, to protecting the labourer and his wife and children against exploitation by unscrupulous employers, to recompensing him for injuries received through accidents arising out of and in the course of his employment and to making available for him the incalculably beneficial effects of organisation. We have already in previous reports seen something of the scope and possibilities of the Indian Trade Unions Act which was brought into force on 1st June, 1927. During the year under review, the necessary regulations for bringing its provisions into effect have been framed and promulgated by Provincial Governments. Under it Indian labour now has the opportunity to do much to shape its own conditions. At present, Indian Trade Unionism is in its infancy. It has met with some success on the railways, but has not spread with any rapidity among the big textile and mining industries. The coming of the Indian Factories and Mines Acts has meant immense and measurable improvement in the circumstances of the majority of Indian industrial labourers.

The history of the modern Factories Act can be traced back definitely to 1911, but in its present shape it may be said to date from 1922. It has introduced a 60 hours week, has provided for the exclusion from factories of children below the age of 12, for the abolition of night work for women, and for various other reforms. Practically all the responsibility for its enforcement now rests on a well-qualified, whole-time staff. The latest report on the working of the Factories Act relates to the year 1926, when an Amending Act was passed to remove certain administrative difficulties which had arisen in the course of its working. One of the provisions of the Amending Act is designed to assist those who are engaged in stamping out the abuse arising from the double employment of children under two certificates. The Act as now amended renders liable to prosecution the parents or guardians who have legal custody over such children or derive any direct benefit from their wages. The number of factories rose during 1926 from 6,926 to 7,251, but a large part of this increase is accounted for by the addition of 112 rice mills and 97 cotton ginning factories to the list. It should be explained that under one of the sections of the Factories Act Provincial Governments are empowered to notify as factories establishments which employ simultaneously not less than ten persons on any one day in the year. Increasing use of this power conferred by this section is being made in the provinces and during the year the number of notified factories was 122 as compared with 100 during 1925. The factory population has now risen from 1,494,958 to 1,518,391. The only provinces and administrations which have not shared in this increase are Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Delhi and the North-West Frontier Province. In Bengal there was a decrease during 1926 in the number of factory employees and this is attributed to the changing over of a number of jute mills from a multiple shift system to a single shift system whereby a reduction in the strength of the labour force was caused. On the other hand, in spite of the depression in the cotton textile industry, there was a substantial increase in the average daily number of persons employed in cotton factories, the number so employed in the Bombay Presidency being 4,500 greater than in the preceding year, 1925.

The steady increase in the employment of women which has been noticed in previous reports went on unchecked in Bombay where the total number of women employed in factories rose from

77,624 to 81,104. The total number of women employed in factories throughout India increased by about 2,000 to 249,669 which represents a little over 16 per cent. of the total factory population. The number of children employed in factories fell from 68,725 in 1925 to 60,094. A very substantial reduction was effected during the year in the number of children employed in jute mills. The following statement will show the decrease of child labour in factories during the last four years:—

Year.	No. of children employed.
1923	74,620
1924	72,531
1925	68,725
1926	60,094

This is largely due to the increasing efficiency of the arrangements made in the provinces for the certification of children and in Bombay, the recent amendment of the Act making parents and guardians responsible for the double employment of children under two certificates has proved to be very useful in checking this abuse.

The percentage of factories maintaining a week of 48 hours for men is 27. In 13 per cent. more, the men employed worked 54 hours or less. The number working more than 54 hours is 60 per cent. For women the corresponding percentages are 32, 11 and 57, figures which show no improvement over those of the preceding year. The percentage of factories limiting their child employees to 30 hours or less in the week has fallen from 34 in 1925 to 30. No reduction has been effected in the number of factories in which the majority of the operatives are exempted from the various sections of the Act. The number of such exemptions is comparatively small in Burma, the Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras, but it is only in the last named province that the figures show any substantial reduction over those of the preceding year. The largest number of exemptions was granted in Assam, but the factories in this province are mostly seasonal.

The number of reported accidents, which has been increasing steadily for some years, showed a further large increase from 12,645 in 1925 to 14,866 in 1926. The increase was particularly large in Bombay and Bihar and Orissa, and substantial in Bengal, the United Provinces, and Madras. In Bihar and Orissa, the year

was a particularly bad one. The number of fatal accidents rose from 25 to 54 and the total number of accidents rose by about 500 or 29 per cent. over the previous total." The worst accident of the year occurred in this province, 16 people being killed and 15 injured owing to the fall of a ladle of molten iron in an Iron and Steel Works. The Chief Inspector has made a careful analysis of the causes of accidents and in the course of an important discussion of their causation he remarks that the most lamentable feature of the year was " a series of catastrophies due to technical incompetence ".

Outside Bihar and Orissa, the number of fatal accidents fell from 238 to 216, and although the numbers of reports, both of serious and minor accidents, increased substantially, there is good reason for believing that the increase is, to a large extent, an increase in reports rather than an increase in accidents. In Bombay, where the total increase is largest, the Chief Inspector writes:—

" The writer is in the somewhat invidious position of claiming a distinct advance in the safe-guarding of machinery *pari passu* with an increasing accident rate. The latter is due to improved reporting, the tendency of operatives to stay away longer than is necessary, and also to the extreme liberality of the two large railway companies in Bombay. These give full pay for absenteeism due to accidents. Possibly their liberal attitude pays in the long run, since, although a number of accidents occur, yet a tetanus case is extremely rare."

The Chief Inspector in Bengal also comments on the manner in which the railway workshop figures affect the total, and, speaking of the Railway Administration mainly responsible, says that the high rate " is not due to want of fencing or efficient supervision as their workshops are as well fenced and supervised as any other railway workshop in the province, but by a too liberal payment of full wages to injured workers during absence. Slight injuries are treated as accidents reportable under the Act ". In the United Provinces where about 80 per cent. of all the accidents reported occurred in railway workshops, the Chief Inspector writes:—

" The increase in serious accidents in railway workshops is regretted, and is due in many instances to persons, who are not seriously injured, but nevertheless absent themselves from work

for more than 21 days, and the accident is thus recorded as serious. The increase in the number of minor accidents is accounted for by better reporting and an increase in the number of persons employed."

In Madras, where railway workshops account for the majority of the accidents, the Provincial Government have directed the Commissioner of Labour to advise regarding the measures to be taken to minimize accidents. Investigations made by the Railway Board showed that railway workshops have been reporting in considerable numbers very trivial accidents which do not require to be reported under the Act and which were not formerly included in the statistics. The statistics, therefore, by comparison with previous years, do not present a true picture of the extent to which the incidence-rates of accidents have altered. There is, moreover, good reason to believe that in past years the number of non-fatal accidents which were not reported was large. To a considerable extent, therefore, the steady increase in non-fatal accidents reported in recent years can be traced to fewer accidents being unreported and to the inclusion of a substantial number of accidents which the Act does not require to be reported. But the present position deserves the most careful consideration of all concerned in the management of factories and the administration of the Act.

It is satisfactory, therefore, to note that vigorous steps are being taken in all provinces for the improvement in fencing and the guarding of machinery. Safety posters are also being used to an increasing extent to bring home to the workers the precautions which they must take in the performance of their work. That these efforts have not been in vain is shown by the fact that in some provinces, in spite of an increase in the total number of accidents there has been an actual decrease in the number of accidents, there has been an actual decrease in the number of in Bengal a Safety Committee similar to those employed in railway workshops was formed of five members selected from the various departments with the head of the Medical Department as the Chairman. Such Committees, by concentrating attention on all industrial risks in a factory, might play an important part in checking the increase in the number of accidents although it is not yet possible as in Europe and America to secure the full co-operation of the workers in this matter.

The number of convictions obtained during the year for the contravention of the Factories Act was 1,417, the number of persons convicted being 349. The corresponding figures for 1925 were 998 and 271. The large increase in the figures may be taken as a satisfactory indication of increasing strictness in the enforcement of the provisions of the Act. Unfortunately there are still complaints in some provinces as to the inadequacy of the fines imposed by Magistrates, particularly in cases connected with the illegal employment of women and children.

The percentage of factories inspected during the year was 88 as against 86 in 1925, the total number of factories inspected rising from 5,933 to 6,399.



The Mines Act of 1923 prohibiting the employment of children under 13 years of age and their presence below ground, limited the hours of work of adults to 60 a week above ground and to 54 below ground, and prescribed a weekly day of rest. It did not, however, impose any limits on the hours during which any person might work in a mine on any one day. Accordingly, a Bill further to amend the Indian Mines Act was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 27th March, 1928, and will be referred to the Council of State during the autumn session of 1928 at Simla. But although the primary object of this Bill is to impose a limitation on the daily hours of work, it is not to be supposed that the hours of work in mines are generally excessive, for it is probable that a daily average of eight hours is exceeded in only a few places. The main advantage which the Bill is designed to secure is an alteration in the system at present in force in many mines which encourages miners to spend longer hours underground thereby making satisfactory supervision difficult. This system tends to increase the number of accidents in various ways and it diminishes the potential efficiency of the Indian miner. The shift system is working successfully in many mines and it would probably be introduced more generally without any compulsion but for the danger that labour may migrate to those mines where restrictions are absent. That danger will disappear when regularity in working hours is made a general rule.

The Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines on the working of the Indian Mines Act during the year 1926, shows

that the daily average number of persons employed in mines during that period was 260,113—an increase of 6,256 persons as compared with the preceding year. Of these persons, 118,232 worked underground, 71,139 in open workings, and 70,742 on the surface; 181,616 were males, 78,497 females. In coal mines 170,628 persons of both sexes were employed, and of these, 35,607 women, chiefly loaders, worked underground and in open workings, and 14,825 on the surface. The corresponding figures for 1925 were 39,618 and 18,913. The actual number of women working underground in coal mines was 28,496. The average number of tons of coal obtained per person employed showed an increase over the figures of preceding years, the higher output being due to the increased use of coal cutting machines, the value of which in the mining of coal is now being fully recognised.

During the year 1926 there were 198 fatal accidents, 227 employees being killed, of these 190 were males and 37 females. The death rate from accidents was 87 per 100,000 persons employed, as against 92 in the preceding year, which, as we pointed out in last year's report, was the lowest figure recorded for many years. Of the fatal accidents, 152 occurred in coal mines, or 5 less than in the previous year.

We noticed a little while ago that the number of accidents to working people is fairly high, and the constant growth in the industrial population and the increasing complexity of machinery used, combined with a certain oblivion on the part of the workmen to the dangers arising from the use of modern machinery, are bound to keep up the number of accidents. The Workmen's Compensation Act, which was passed in 1923, is therefore a very beneficial and necessary addition to Indian labour legislation. For some time after it became law, the provisions of the Act were not well-known to the work people concerned, and even now are not as widely known as they ought to be. The latest reports from the provinces, however, indicate not only that the Act is working smoothly, but that in some places labour organisations are taking an interest in securing to the workers and their dependents the benefits to which they are entitled under the Act.



From our discussion of industrial conditions in India we arrive naturally on the subject of unemployment. It should be

pointed out at once that any treatment of this subject must be in somewhat vague and general terms because none of the statistical and other data which are required are available. It is, however, certain that the problem of unemployment in India is very different from the corresponding problem in England. In this country there is unemployment from time to time in particular industries, but normally all the labour available can be absorbed, and, very often, the trouble is not to find work for the workless, but to find workers for the work. Unemployment in Indian industries, in fact, occurs on a wide scale only when scarcity or famine produces partial or complete stoppage of agricultural operations over wide areas, thus throwing into the market, agricultural labour and labour employed in industries subsidiary to agriculture. But here it is necessary to draw a distinction between conditions in India at such times and analogous difficulties in Western countries, for a situation of this kind is met in India by the institution of a system of famine relief which has no parallel in the other countries referred to. When we talk of unemployment in India, what we have in mind usually is unemployment among the educated classes and there is not the least doubt that this constitutes a problem which is becoming more and more serious every year. Higher education in this country is still predominantly of the literary type, and the majority of the graduates look either to the law or to some form of clerical occupation for a livelihood. Probably nine graduates in ten of the Indian Universities look to Government service in the first place for a living, and if they are disappointed in their hopes in this quarter, their outlook is not a very promising one. Every year the Indian Universities, colleges and high schools turn out many thousands of educated or semi-educated youths in excess of the number of Government or other public service jobs available. Among the members of what we might call the educated middle class there is undeniably severe distress on account of unemployment, and in very many cases even where employment has been found, its remuneration is very meagre and often less even than that obtained by the higher classes of artisans. Obviously new avenues of employment for these classes are needed and the growth of Indian industry and the rise of new forms of industry in this country ought to provide these openings. Fortunately the scale and quality of education in scientific subjects are steadily rising and an increased supply of trained minds will, undoubtedly, prove

beneficial to the growth of Indian industry. The School of Mining which was opened at Dhanbad in December, 1926, the provision of facilities by the University of Rangoon for the training of engineers who would be able to take part in exploiting the rich mineral resources of Burma and other developments elsewhere are all encouraging signs of progress.



CHAPTER IV.

State and People (ii).

PUBLIC HEALTH, EDUCATION, DRINK AND DRUGS.

All three of the subjects discussed in this chapter will be found on reference to the Devolution Rules, to be Provincial Transferred Subjects, and the two first-mentioned are treated in some detail in Chapter X, the second of the two chapters devoted to the year in the Provinces. Some explanation of their appearance in this place is, therefore, called for. The functions of the Government of India in medicine are broadly speaking restricted to the assistance and guidance of research whilst in education their functions are restricted to the general control of the denominational universities at Benares and Aligarh and of the University of Delhi; general control of education in the areas under their direct control such as the North-West Frontier Province; control over Chiefs Colleges; and the safeguarding of the administration of central subjects. The Government of India also exercises certain powers in respect of infectious and contagious diseases, takes part in medical activities of an international kind and maintains certain departmental cadres to deal with these matters. In short, the Central Government's work in these subjects starts where the Provincial is brought to a halt by financial, administrative and territorial restrictions. The national government with its wider vision, ampler resources and more extensive and intensive responsibility for the welfare of the people of this country must inevitably be the authority to inspire and support general policy, and finance those higher activities which may not be immediately beneficial or remunerative, but on which all progress mainly depends.



It will be generally agreed that hardly any activity of the State, particularly in a tropical country, is as important as that which is exercised in the field of public health. Even if we are speaking only from the humanitarian point of view, this would be true, but, as is easily apparent from what we have said in the previous chapter, in addition to the alleviation of suffering—which results

from such activity, economic results of vast importance follow from every improvement in public health. Some of the most striking evidence given before the Royal Commission on Agriculture was concerned with this subject and we can draw a very good illustration of this argument from the most common disease of India, namely malaria. No part of India is free from this scourge and the number of days of work which are lost every year on its account must run into many millions. The members of every class and occupation in India are affected, and not only the actual days lost are to be counted, but the weakening effects of malaria on the human system must also be taken into consideration, for it saps the energy and reduces the efficiency of its victims. In other parts of India, commonly prevalent diseases like hookworm, beriberi, etc., supplement the havoc wrought by malaria, whilst destructive epidemics like cholera, plague and small pox, which so frequently sweep different areas of India, take heavy toll. It must be remembered that a death in India may be a very ruinous thing for a family since it may result in extravagant expenditure on funeral ceremony, may lead to the un-economic partition of land, and produce a number of other disastrous effects. The chart which is reproduced on the opposite page, will show the reader, without a wearisome repetition of statistics, the toll of human life taken in this country by diseases and insanitary conditions, many of which can be prevented or improved. The part played by the Central Government in the improvement of Public Health has been already briefly outlined and since the financial condition of India has improved appreciably in recent years the Indian Government is now able to give increasing help to Medical Research. During the year 1927-28 the Indian Research Fund Association received a total grant of Rs. 7,05,071 from the Central Government for the furtherance of Medical Research. The Association financed sixty-six inquiries in 1927-28 in the field of medical research, including investigations into various aspects of malaria, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, indigenous drugs, maternal mortality and morbidity in child-birth in India, anti-rabic vaccine experiments, drug addiction in this country, inquiry into the changes that occur in the blood in certain tropical diseases and numerous other matters and diseases. The Association also continued its contributions towards the cost of two professorships at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and the pay of Dr. Muir employed on the

leprosy inquiry at the same school, and also towards the up-keep of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology in London, and the Bio-Chemical Section at the Haffkine Institute in Bombay. A grant towards the cost of the Central Malaria Organization now called the Malaria Survey of India, was also sanctioned and during the year, Malaria surveys were carried out in Coorg and at Vizagapatam. As the Seventh Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine was held at Calcutta in December 1927, the usual annual Conference of Medical Research Workers was not convened, but an extraordinary meeting of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Indian Research Fund Association, with seven co-opted members was called. A programme of work for 1928-29, which will absorb almost the whole of the Indian Research Fund Association's income, was recommended by the Board and finally approved by the Governing Body. It is very satisfactory to be able to report that the number of officers of the Medical Research Department provided for in the budget of the Director General of the Indian Medical Service was raised from four in 1926-27 to five in 1927-28, but it is obvious that this figure might advantageously be multiplied as funds became available. The Scheme for establishing a Central Medical Research Institute in India was considered by a very strong committee consisting of Sir Walter Fletcher, K.B.E., M.D., Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., Secretary of the Medical Research Council (Privy Council), as Chairman, and Lieut.-Colonel S. P. James, M.D., D.P.H., I.M.S., (Retired), Medical Officer and Adviser on Tropical Diseases, Ministry of Health, London, Dr. R. Row, O.B.E., M.D., D.Sc., Professor of Pathology, Grant Medical College, Bombay, and Bt.-Colonel S. R. Christophers, C.I.E., O.B.E., K.H.P., F.R.S., I.M.S., Director of the Central Research Institute at Kasauli, as members. The Committee has submitted its report to the Government of India.

Two International meetings of Medical and Public Health experts were held in India during the year under review. Between the 5th and 24th December, 1927, the Seventh Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine was held in Calcutta under the patronage of His Excellency Lord Irwin. Fourteen delegates from Australia, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, Japan, Ceylon, Indo-China, China and Hongkong and a representative of the League of Nations attended the meeting. A number of

delegates from the Government of India and from the Indian provinces and States were also present. The subjects discussed at the Conference ranged over the whole field of tropical medicine.

The second meeting referred to was the Second Far East Health Interchange which was held in India by the League of Nations in consultation with the Government of India in January, 1928. The League invited the Governments of Egypt, Ceylon, Siam, Federated Malay States, Straits Settlements, Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, French Indo-China, China, Japan, Australia and New Zealand to select delegates to attend this Health Interchange and sixteen representatives of the above mentioned countries came to India. The object of these Health Interchanges is to enable medical men of a number of countries to visit some foreign country and study conditions on the spot. Most of the expenses of the Indian Health Interchange were borne by the League of Nations.

The third session of the Advisory Council of the League of Nations, Health Organisation, Eastern Bureau, was held in New Delhi at the end of December, 1927 under the Chairmanship of Colonel J. D. Graham, C.I.E., I.M.S., Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. Delegates from the countries which were represented at the two International meetings mentioned above were also present at this session, as also was the President of the Health Committee of the League of Nations. A number of resolutions relating to public health in eastern countries were passed.

During the year under review, the Government of India was well represented at a number of international medical conferences in England and on the Continent, these including the International Rabies Conference at Paris and the Conference, held at Geneva in July 1927, for the creation of an International Relief Union.



The Central Official Medical Service in this country is the world-famed Indian Medical Service, which has produced a number of devoted and brilliant investigators into tropical diseases. The members of this Service furnish the medical officers of the Indian Army, direct the medical administration of the Provinces, provide teachers in the medical colleges and serve as Civil Surgeons in charge of the more important districts in each Province. In last

year's report we said that a scheme for the reorganisation of the Medical Services in India had been submitted to the Secretary of State. The main features of the scheme are that the suggested unification of the Military Medical Services in India should be abandoned, that an Indian Medical Service constituted on the same broad lines as at present, should be retained primarily for the purpose of meeting the needs of the Indian Army and that in order to maintain the necessary war reserve of military medical officers and to provide European medical attendance for European Officers of the Superior Civil Services and their families, provincial Governments should be required to employ a stated number of Indian Medical Service Officers. The reply to this despatch was received in March 1927. The Secretary of State accepted the main features of the scheme, involving the employment on the civil side of 302 officers of the Indian Medical Service and a communique announcing the scheme in the final form was issued in May 1928. In brief, the result of the reorganisation is that fewer posts will now be reserved for officers of the Indian Medical Service than before, and Provincial Governments will now be able to add a larger number of higher posts to their own provincial services.

An event of much importance in medical education in India was the inspection of the courses of medical study and examinations of Indian Universities carried out during the latter half of 1926-27 by Sir Norman Walker and Colonel R. A. Needham, I.M.S., on behalf of the General Medical Council of Great Britain. On their recommendation the Council decided to renew for a further period of one year the recognition accorded to the medical degrees of the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Lahore and Lucknow. The question of the recognition of the degrees of the Universities of Calcutta and Patna is to be considered further on the fulfilment by those Universities of certain conditions laid down by the Council. The application of the Andhra University for the recognition of its degrees of M.B., B.S., was rejected. The reports of Sir Norman Walker and Colonel Needham were received by the Government of India at the end of September 1927 and copies were communicated to the Provincial Governments concerned for such action as they might consider desirable with reference to the comments made in the reports. In one of these reports Sir Norman Walker expressed the opinion that the periodic visitation and inspection of medical colleges and examinations in India through

the direct agency of the General Medical Council was no longer practicable, and suggested that steps should be taken to create some co-ordinating authority in India to enable the General Medical Council to obtain the information which it required for the discharge of its statutory duties. He looked forward ultimately to the establishment in India of some central authority comparable to the General Medical Council and suggested that pending its establishment, a Commissioner of Medical Qualifications and Standards with headquarters in Delhi should be appointed to continue and expand the work done by Colonel Needham as Inspector of the General Medical Council. Even before the receipt of the reports of Sir Norman Walker and Colonel Needham, the question of the establishment of an all-India Medical Council had been brought to the forefront in connection with a Bill introduced in the Council of State by the Hon'ble Dr. Rama Rau in February 1926, and as a result of further consideration of the matter the Government of India contemplated bringing forward a Government Bill providing for the establishment of an all-India Medical Council. They now propose to consult Provincial Governments regarding the proposed legislation and the suggestion of Sir Norman Walker that, pending the establishment of an all-India Medical Council, a Commissioner of Medical Qualifications and Standards should be appointed in this country.



The publication of Miss Mayo's book "Mother India", to which reference was made in the opening chapter of this report, has fixed the attention of people all over the world on the circumstances in which many of the women of India live their lives, and has aroused widespread interest in the institutions of child marriage and in the provision of medical attendance for the millions of women whom ancient custom keeps behind the purdah. These things have occupied the attention of private and official persons and institutions in this country for many years past, and of late the interest taken has gathered momentum. An examination of the reports of the debates in the Legislative Assembly since 1921 will show how Indian opinion is concerned more and more seriously with the grave problems arising out of these circumstances and how the views of advanced reformers like Sir Hari Singh Gour, are gaining increasing support year by year. As far back as the end

of the eighties of last century the provision of medical assistance for Indian women was definitely undertaken by the Countess of Dufferin, wife of the Viceroy of India in those days. She it was who first lifted the purdah to admit skilled assistance to women and girls who lived behind it, and the wives of other Viceroys since that time have carried on and expanded and developed her work until now there are three institutions at work which provide medical relief for Indian women—institutions which possess the wonderful attributes of being neither entirely official nor entirely non-official and incapable of classification either as central or provincial subjects. The first of these institutions, founded by the Countess of Dufferin and commonly known by her name, has for its object the training of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses, and midwives, as well as the provision of dispensaries, wards and hospitals. This institution did excellent work; but, after some years, it became clear that its income had become insufficient for the fulfilment of its objects and that the remuneration which it offered to women doctors was inadequate. This resulted in 1914 in the establishment of a Women's Medical Service, and the Government of India now pays the Countess of Dufferin's Fund a subsidy of three hundred and seventy thousand rupees per annum. At the end of 1927 the Service had a cadre of forty-four. Owing, however, to the financial position of the Service, the question of reducing the cadre to forty-two was considered, and this in spite of the fact that two applications for two new posts to be filled by Women's Medical Service Officers had to be refused. The Dufferin Fund Council at a meeting held at Viceregal Lodge in Delhi on 19th March, 1927, passed a resolution asking the Government of India for an increased grant to provide eight more doctors for the service. This, however, the Government of India refused to do because the majority of the Women's Medical Service doctors are serving in Governor's provinces, where, since the reforms, medical relief has been a transferred subject. For this reason, they argued, the cost of the Women's Medical Service doctors should be paid by the Provinces. The Council then approached each of the Provincial Governments requesting partial support for the Women's Medical Service doctors serving in the Governor's provinces using as an argument in support of their plea the recent remissions of provincial contributions to the central revenues. Bengal and Bombay, where three and five Women's Medical Service officers are

serving respectively, refused to give any financial assistance. The other provinces promised help provided their Legislative Councils were willing to vote the money. Another application was made to the Government of India for a non-recurring grant to enable the Women's Medical Service to carry on till help from the provinces materialised, but no reply has yet been vouchsafed to this second appeal. The reports from nearly all the hospitals staffed by Women's Medical Service officers record increased opportunities for work and a difficult financial position. Members of the Women's Medical Service teach in the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, and in the Medical Schools at Madras and Agra. In these training institutions eleven Women's Medical Service officers were engaged in tuition during the year, eight at the Lady Hardinge Medical College, two at the Agra Medical School, and one at Madras. In the Central Provinces two new hospitals have been opened for women. At Chhindwara and Khandwa, research work into the causes of maternal mortality in child-birth has been going on in connection with the Haffkine Institute of Bombay, under medical women assisted by the Women's Medical Service. The latter, it should be said, is recruited in the proportion of 50·50 from among Europeans and persons domiciled in India, but its present strength is proving unequal to the demand for trained medical women.



The second institution working in this field is the Victoria Memorial Scholarships Fund, raised by the late Lady Curzon. Its object is the training of local *dais*, or midwives, so as "to enable them to pursue their hereditary calling in the light of modern sanitation and medical knowledge". Anyone familiar with the crude and dangerous conditions in which births take place in India will readily realise the pressing need for some such training. The Fund began to furnish this training in 1902, but owing to the ignorance and stubborn prejudices of the class for whose welfare it was established, progress has been painfully and lamentably slow. Nevertheless, a great deal has been accomplished, but progress must depend as much on the education of public opinion as on the provision of well-trained *dais*. Happily, there are signs of an awakening consciousness in this matter, due probably to the propagandist effects of such movements as Health Visitors in the Punjab, the innovation of providing quarters for *dais* willing to receive a nine

months' intensive training in Dera Ismail Khan, and the exertions of the Municipal Welfare Scheme in Simla. Throughout the year under review the work of training *dais* has gone steadily forward and at the 1927 All-India Conference for Maternity and Child Welfare work, the following views were expressed:—

> "In South India the indigenous *dais* are being extensively replaced by better educated women who are trained midwives. In North India the untrained indigenous *dais* are being gradually replaced by trained indigenous *dais*. The problem of providing the village woman with a trained attendant at her confinement is still a difficult one, but in small areas it is being tackled."

The vitally important work performed by the administrators of the Fund is thus being pushed forward steadily if slowly and in many places in India now municipal and other local authorities retain trained midwives for maternity cases.



The third institution working for the welfare of Indian women is the Lady Chelmsford League, founded to "promote Maternity and Child Welfare generally in India". The high rate of infant mortality in India was felt to be a blot on her health administration; but "lack of funds" was the official excuse for not tackling the problem. Lady Chelmsford determined to fill the gap and collected a sum which yields an income of over half a lakh of rupees.

The League has done admirable work in maintaining health schools and health centres and in carrying on educational propaganda. Schools for the important work of educating Health Visitors have been opened in Delhi, Lahore, Madras, Calcutta, and Nagpur, while some training is given also at Poona under the *Seva Sadan*. The first four were assisted by the Lady Chelmsford League until 1927 when the Punjab Government decided to take over the Lahore school thus setting funds free to be used in expanding the work of the Delhi and other schools. Offers of help have been made to the Poona *Seva Sadan* Health School and also to Madras and Calcutta and the United Provinces for training Health Visitors, provided their institutions give instruction up to the standard maintained at the Lady Reading Health School at Delhi. The latter opened its first session during 1926-27 in its new buildings,

and, although the number of students was small, reports of their work have been satisfactory. The second session opened in October 1927 with a full number of students of good average ability. Owing to the low ability of the students, a vernacular class proved no more satisfactory than on the previous occasions when it was held. The difficulty experienced by the League officers in instilling principles of preventive medicine is very great. Local bodies and others employing Health Visitors are apt to look upon these workers as embryo doctors and to require them to treat, rather than try to prevent diseases. The good results which can be achieved by Health Visitors is shewn by Lahore's report of a reduction of infant mortality to 96 per thousand as against 201·2 per thousand a few years back. It is discouraging to note, however, that notwithstanding the good work being done by Health Schools, candidates do not come forward in sufficient numbers.

The League's propaganda consists in publishing leaflets, pamphlets, books, and posters in various languages and in providing travelling Exhibitions of Maternity and Child Welfare. The League also acts as a bureau of information for the whole of India and is in touch with Child Welfare all over the world. "Baby Week" is a development of one side of the League's activities, and was organised in its present form by Lady Reading. It would be difficult to exaggerate the practical importance of the stimulus afforded to the Infant Welfare movement by Baby Week. The exhibitions, lectures, and baby shows which annually take place in all the most important centres of India have aroused public interest in an unprecedented degree. The local operations are directed by Provincial Committees of the National Baby Week, whose members display the keenest enthusiasm. Year by year the number of new towns applying for assistance in organising a Baby Week increases. There is an evergrowing demand for leaflets, pamphlets, model lectures, cinematograph films, and magic lantern slides. Various benevolent institutions such as the Poona *Seva Sadan* Society, have thrown themselves with enthusiasm into the task of furthering the campaign. The Poona *Seva Sadan* Society has a number of Infant Welfare centres and antenatal clinics working in conjunction with the two maternity hospitals it conducts. In short, a great national organisation has been created for the diffusion of knowledge concerning the requirements of babies both before and after birth. The new Baby Week movement is sup-

plementing the efforts of older institutions such as the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India. Further, Lady Reading has initiated a scheme for training Indian nurses and doctors in larger numbers, which, as time goes on, should do much to improve the situation. Her Excellency Lady Irwin has continued the work of her predecessor and this year's Baby Week, like its predecessors, aroused immense enthusiasm. As a means of focussing attention on the problems of motherhood and infancy it is unrivalled and more than maintains both its popularity and its efficacy. The Silver Challenge Shield donated by the "News of the World, London" for annual competition for the best "Baby Week Campaign" held throughout the Empire (excluding the British Isles) was awarded in 1926-27 by the National Baby Week Council to the Baby Week Committee at Bellary, Madras Presidency. Amongst those who were highly commended in the competition were the Simla, Delhi, and Secunderabad Deccan Baby Week Committees. This year a Challenge Cup, called the Irwin Cup, has been presented by Raja Raghanandan Prasad Singh, a member of the Legislative Assembly, for the most effective Local Health and Baby Week Campaign held anywhere in India during the twelve months preceding August 31st, 1928. Each campaign will be judged on its merits, particularly in relation to value of its device in coping with the peculiar circumstances of the area with which it is concerned.



The foregoing discussion, brief as it is, backed by a glance at the map on the opposite page, will enable the reader to appreciate the magnificent work which is being done by members of the Women's Medical Service, and it will be agreed that any expansion of its activities will result in benefits to the women and children of India vastly out of proportion to the expense incurred. As we have seen, however, it is at present hanging between earth and sky. The Central Government is unwilling to incur additional expenditure because the women doctors work mostly in the Governors' provinces, whilst certain Provincial Governments are unwilling to make any contribution to the cost of women doctors because they apparently think that the Central Government should bear all the expense. Meanwhile, the members of the service work under many great disabilities. There is, of course, far more work

than they can cope with, and their service is not pensionable. It is very desirable that the position of the service should be made quite clear and that satisfactory arrangements be made for its maintenance and steady development.



It was said at the beginning of this chapter that the Government of India exercises only certain restricted functions in regard to education, and there is very little to say about these in this year's report. Two events, however, have some general interest.

Prior to 1920 when the Reforms were introduced it was customary for the Government of India to convene periodical conferences of Directors of Public Instruction and other provincial educationalists for the discussion of matters of common interest. With the provincialisation of education under the Reforms this practice was discontinued. The place of these conferences was to some extent taken by the Central Advisory Board of Education which was constituted in 1920 but the Board was abolished as a result of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee in 1923. After its abolition no opportunity was provided for educational officers from different provinces to meet for the purpose of exchanging ideas and discussing their problems until 1927, when the Government of India decided, with the concurrence of Provincial Governments to convene a conference of provincial educational administrators. The conference met at New Delhi, from the 10th to the 14th January 1927, under the chairmanship of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. It was attended by the Ministers for Education in the Punjab and Assam, all the Directors of Public Instruction in India and the Superintendent of Education in Baluchistan. The conference discussed a wide range of subjects and though no formal resolutions were recorded, it proved an unqualified success.



A combination of circumstances made it desirable to hold an enquiry into the affairs of Delhi University during the year under review. The University has hitherto been in the habit of budgeting for a Government grant to the amount required to cover the excess of its expenditure, whatever that might be, over its income. The Government of India could not acquiesce in an arrangement

of this kind which both left them uncertain as to their financial commitments and provided no incentive to the University to exercise economy or to raise funds from private sources. Further, the question of selecting a suitable site for the permanent buildings of the University which is housed at present in rented premises, has by now become pressing. The Government of India therefore appointed a committee in June 1927 to enquire into, and report on the question of the allocation of a permanent site for the University buildings, their character, construction and equipment and the extent and kind of assistance, both capital and recurring, which the Government of India might give to the University for a certain number of years. The Committee submitted its report on the 28th December 1927.



We will close this chapter with an account of the steps which the Government of India and certain Provincial Governments are taking to deal with the drink and drug evils.

The interest which the League of Nations has displayed in the suppression of the traffic in dangerous drugs has caused much attention to be devoted to the Indian opium trade, and a few years ago the attitude of the Indian Government towards the preparation and sale of opium in India and abroad was much misunderstood. The efforts and the sacrifices made by the Government of this country in the suppression of the opium traffic are now better known and the position may be briefly described. It may as well be explained at the outset that as far as opium is concerned the sphere of the Government of India is practically confined to its international obligations in connection with the export of Indian opium to foreign countries, and to the control of the cultivation of opium in British India, and its distribution to the Provincial Governments. Apart from this the control of the opium traffic in British India is entirely left to the Provincial Governments.

The policy of the Indian Government in the matter of opium exports is governed by international agreements. The export of opium to any non-Asiatic country other than the United Kingdom is prohibited, and export to the latter is for medicinal purposes only and is strictly controlled by the Import Certificate system. The same system was applied to other drugs covered by the Hague Convention in 1923 by an order which was revised in 1926 so as to

fall into line with the definitions contained in the Geneva Convention. In June, 1926, it was announced that the extinction of exports of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes would be accomplished in ten years, that is, no opium will be exported for purposes other than medicinal and scientific after December 31, 1935. The exports in 1927 will be 90 per cent. of the exports in 1926, then in 1928, 80 per cent. of the exports in 1926, and so on. With effect from the 19th of March 1925 the transhipment at any port in British India of any of the drugs covered by the Hague Convention was prohibited unless covered by an export authorization or diversion certificate issued by the exporting country, and this order was revised in the light of the Geneva Convention on the 12th of February 1927.

Naturally, the present opium policy of the Government of India has not been adopted without considerable financial sacrifices, the extent of which is a measure of the Government's sincerity. During the last eleven years, that is, between 1916-17 and 1927-28, the area under poppy cultivation in India has been reduced by more than 76 per cent. In the former year the area under poppy stood at 204,186 acres, a figure which had fallen by the end of March 1928 to 48,083 acres. And not only have the Government of India devoted their attention to reducing poppy cultivation in British India, but they have entered into prolonged and earnest negotiations with those Indian States in which opium is produced. As a result of these negotiations they have already been able to reduce the total quantity of crude opium to be purchased from Indian States from about 11,400 maunds (a maund is approximately 80 lbs.) in 1924-25 to 6,500 maunds with effect from the season of 1925-26. Since January 1926 the Government of India have prohibited the cultivation of poppy in Ajmer-Merwara, and within British India it is now confined to a limited area in the United Provinces. On the 20th March 1926, a Conference was held in Ajmer to consider what arrangements should be made by the Indian Government to check opium smuggling from Rajputana and Central India into British India. As a result of the recommendations of the Conference a special preventive staff under the control of the Government Railway Police at Ajmer has been appointed to control the illicit traffic. Lastly, in May 1927, a Conference was held in Simla between the representatives of the Government of India and of the various Indian States interested in the cultivation and con-

sumption of opium, and the relations of these States to the Government of India's opium policy, both external and internal was discussed. It was resolved at the Conference that the whole question of the relations between the Government of India and the Indian States in the matter of opium, including the Government of India's suggestion that the cultivation of the opium poppy should be discontinued in the States, be investigated by a committee composed of one officer with special knowledge of the opium question, one agricultural expert, and one officer representing the States. In pursuance of this recommendation, the Government of India appointed a committee which started its work in November 1927 and consisted of the following members:—

(*i*) Mr. J. A. Pope, I.C.S., Excise Commissioner for Central India and Adviser on Opium Affairs for Central India and Rajputana	President.
(*ii*) Mr. G. S. Henderson, Imperial Agriculturist at Pusa	Member.
(*iii*) Khan Bahadur Qazi Azizuddin Ahmed, Dewan, Datia State.	Member.

This Committee has now finished its enquiries and has submitted its report which is under the consideration of the Government.

Statistics and reports issued by the League of Nations Secretariat afford ample proof of the earnestness and success with which the Government of India have fulfilled the duties imposed upon them by international obligations. We have seen also how they have tackled the problem of their *quasi*-international relations with the Indian States in this matter of opium. Within their territories both the Central Government and the Governments of the Provinces are grappling seriously with the problem of "black spots" in British India. It might be explained at this point that except in Burma and Assam opium smoking, which was recognised by the First Opium Conference, Geneva, 1925, as being the real opium evil, is not a general practice. The Governments of the Provinces have acted in this matter both singly and in consort with each other. In September 1926, a conference of provincial ministers charged with the administration of excise was held to discuss the co-ordination of excise policy in certain matters throughout India. As a result of this conference the Government of India

suggested to the Provincial Governments certain measures which might contribute towards the solution of the problem of cleansing the "black spots" referred to. The measures suggested were:—

(1) The appointment of Committees to conduct separate local enquiries in areas where the average consumption of opium exceeds 60 lbs. per 10,000 inhabitants.

(2) The investigation of the special problem presented by the large industrial areas.

(3) The application of a system of rationing and registration of consumers in areas of excessive consumption.

(4) The possibility of organising a system of liaison between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments for the purpose of assisting the latter in their local investigations.

The Governments of Bengal, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay and Madras, all appointed committees to enquire into conditions in certain specified areas and the Government of the United Provinces asked its existing licensing boards to state their views in regard to the position within certain municipal limits after such enquiry as they consider necessary. The proposal to organise some system of liaison between the various governmental authorities has been dropped and the Government of India are now considering the desirability of holding a conference after the various local investigations have been completed for the purpose of collating and comparing the results obtained before the different Provincial Governments decide individually on the action to be taken in regard to these reports.

The figures showing the decline in the consumption of opium throughout India during the past decade or two are very striking. Between 1910-11 and 1926-27 the consumption has fallen in Madras from 1,039 maunds to 872 maunds; in Bombay from 1,435 maunds to 787 maunds; in Bengal from 1,626 maunds to 995 maunds; in Burma from 1,444 maunds to 627 maunds; in Bihar and Orissa from 882 maunds to 621 maunds; in the United Provinces from 1,545 maunds to 557 maunds; in the Punjab from 1,584 maunds to 978 maunds; in the Central Provinces from 1,307 maunds to 718 maunds; in Assam from 1,509 maunds to 750 maunds and in the North-West Frontier Province from 69 maunds to 40 maunds; and in Baluchistan from 15 maunds to 6 maunds.

In 1910-11 the consumption for the whole of British India was 12,527 maunds; in 1926-27 it was 7,021 maunds. At the same time the revenue derived from opium in the various provinces of India, owing to the enhanced price at which the drug is sold, has risen from Rs. 1·63 crores in 1910-11 to Rs. 3·36 crores in 1926-27.

Of late years, much has been heard of the increased use of cocaine and allied drugs in the bigger cities in India and from time to time newspapers print somewhat alarming articles on this subject. It would be idle to deny that this feature of life in the big cities is a matter of much concern to excise and police officers, but the authorities are fully alive to the danger and have developed and are continually improving detective and preventive measures, and captures of this drug and arrests of those who traffic in them are common occurrences. In Assam, Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces the Provincial Legislative Councils have passed Acts prohibiting the cultivation of cocaine-yielding plants as a precautionary measure (although no abuse actually existed) and these Acts have received the assent of the Governor General.

As regards opium smoking the following is now the general position in India. Only the Governments of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Assam, and Bihar and Orissa have hitherto undertaken legislation to control the practice. In other provinces, however, the import, export, and sale of prepared opium are penal offences and the maximum limits of possession, varying between ¼ and 1 tola (a tola is less than half an ounce) allowed to individuals, and between ½ and 2 tolas allowed to two or more persons, have been prescribed. In the Punjab an assembly of three or more, and in the United Provinces an assembly of two or more persons is designated an opium smoking assembly if the common object of persons assembling is to smoke opium or to prepare opium for smoking purposes. Penalties are prescribed for a breach of the law. The Bihar and Orissa Opium Smoking Act prohibits opium smoking except by licensed smokers. In Assam, under an Act passed in 1927, it is unlawful for any person to smoke opium or any preparation of opium, even if he should do so by himself. Smoking in company is treated as a more serious offence than private smoking, and joining a smoking assembly is a more serious offence still. In Bengal, legislation is being initiated to make opium smoking by persons other than registered smokers a penal offence, and a smokers' register will be prepared with a view ultimately to stamp-

ing out opium smoking altogether. In Madras, in a draft Bill to amend the Opium Act of 1878 now under the consideration of the Madras Government, a provision has been made for prohibiting opium smoking altogether in the Presidency. The Government of Bombay believe that the only way to stop opium smoking is to prohibit the possession of prepared opium and they are now considering measures to bring about the suppression of opium smoking in the Bombay Presidency. The Government of the Central Provinces are proposing to introduce a Bill into their legislative council with a view to prohibiting opium smoking in assembly. They also propose to introduce a system of registration and rationing of habitual addicts. The Government of Burma have adopted the most stringent measures for the gradual suppression of opium smoking. Years ago they devised and put into force a system of registration and rationing of all consumers whether eaters or smokers and in 1924 they introduced a special system of registration of smokers and no person not so registered has since that date been allowed to possess prepared opium. On the 31st March 1927, the number of Burmans and non-Burmans registered as smokers was 306 and 14,714 respectively. No new names can be added to the register and with the gradual disappearance of the persons now on the register, opium smoking will cease to exist in Burma. The case of Ajmer-Merwara, which is a British enclave surrounded by Indian state territory, is somewhat peculiar. The policy of this administration has for its aim the ultimate extinction of opium smoking. Keeping this aim in view rules have been framed according to which a person cannot lawfully possess more than half a tola. The prescribed limit of possession allowed to two or more persons is one tola. It is not possible to make any further advance until the problem of smuggling from Indian States has been effectively dealt with. The problem is engaging the close attention of the Government of India.



The consumption of alcoholic liquors does not provide a serious problem in India except in those bigger centres of population in which industrial labour is concentrated. About a quarter of the total population of India—the Muhammadans—are practically outside the range of the drink evil since their religion forbids them to take alcoholic liquor and this prohibition is for the most part

faithfully obeyed. Among the congested labouring population of Bombay and Calcutta and a few lesser places the evil exists to some extent but on the whole it is true to say that the drink problem is not much in evidence in India. There has, however, been a good deal of talk of recent years in most of the Indian Provinces about compulsory prohibition. For many people in India the ideal of total prohibition is not unconnected with politics for, during the non-co-operation agitation, considerable pressure was brought to bear in some places on drink shop proprietors and would-be drinkers in order to prevent the one class from plying their trade and the other from satisfying their appetite. The object of this pressure was to destroy an important item in the revenues of the Government, chiefly the revenues of the Provincial Governments. Nevertheless the movement towards total prohibition is very largely inspired by genuine reforming zeal and the general trend of every governing authority in India is to minimise the consumption of alcoholic liquors. Absolute prohibition, in the sense of ensuring that there shall be no consumption of liquor except such as is allowed by law, is quite impossible for India in her circumstances. An immense army of preventive agents would have to be employed in every province in order to ensure complete obedience to any law enforcing total prohibition, and the better plan appears to be to continue in the present policy adopted by the Government of India and some Provincial Governments in this matter, a plan which aims at inculcating temperance whilst providing facilities for persons requiring wholesome refreshment, but at a price likely to discourage the abuse of intoxicating liquors. The Government of India is not now primarily concerned with the consumption of alcoholic liquors except those imported from abroad, the duty on which forms a useful item in the central revenues of the country. From time to time, however, the subject of alcoholic drinks comes up for discussion in some connection or other in the Legislative Assembly or Council of State, when the Government of India make it clear that their policy in the area subject to their direct administration is to promote and ensure moderation in the use of such liquors. At different times the Governments of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces have accepted prohibition or abstinence in general terms as the goal of their policy and on October 22nd, 1927, the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending that the total prohibition of alcoholic drink in the

Presidency within the next 20 years should be the declared object of the Provincial Government's policy. In 1926, a local option Bill was passed in Assam, and the Government of the Central Provinces aim at the ultimate extinction of the consumption of country-made spirit. There is, however, reason to believe that there are limits to the policy of checking consumption of liquor by raising the price to a very high figure, for this encourages the manufacture of illicit liquor. The Punjab Government have had to reduce the duty on country spirit, and the Bombay Government, in their review of the Administration Report of their Excise Department for 1926-27, explained certain financial and administrative difficulties which had arisen out of their policy of partial prohibition, and in their resolution of the 11th April, 1928, in which they passed orders on the report of a prohibition (financial) committee appointed by them in 1926, they stated that on account of financial considerations further progress in the direction of prohibition must necessarily be slow. On the whole, therefore, the various governing authorities in this country are adopting all reasonable measures within their power to guard against the spread of the drink habit and to make it difficult and expensive to gratify it.

CHAPTER V.

Communications.

In the preceding chapter something was said about the connection between the development of communications in India and the growth of her material prosperity. The opening of each additional mile of railway, or of good road suitable for wheeled traffic, is a contribution towards the closer unity and the greater strength and resisting power of India's economic life. New markets, new industries, and new opportunities and prospects of all sorts come with the extension of communications, and modern India, economic, political, and, to a gradually increasing extent, social also is the creation of the communications, particularly the railways, which, during the last seventy years or so, have brought her different peoples and parts ever more closely into contact with each other. In the highly developed countries of the West, additions to railways or roads are merely matters to be entered in tables of statistics, but in a country like India, whose many peoples are now being welded into one nation, such things as these take on a certain esoteric significance, for they are in the true sense of the words nation building instruments.



Naturally the Indian railways are at present far and away the most important part of her system of communications, and, as far as can now be seen, it will be long enough before the motor car or the aeroplane or airship seriously threatens their predominance. In a few places, as for example where a good road and railway run parallel between two big towns or where a small mountain railway winds up to hill station, the motor car may beat the train as far as cheapness and the convenience of passengers are concerned, but, of course, these conditions are still very exceptional, and the railway is and must long continue to be the master factor in the Indian system of transport and communications. Nevertheless, reports from many parts of the country show that where roads run

parallel to or short circuit railway lines encroachment on short distance railway passenger traffic is steadily increasing.

Before we discuss the more important developments of the year in the different departments of railway working, readers may find it helpful to know something of the organisation of the railway system in this country. Over seventy per cent. of the total route mileage of Indian railways is owned and over forty per cent. is directly managed by the State. The control, financing and development of the railways of India falls very largely, therefore, on the Indian Government, which acts in railway matters through the Railway Board. As now constituted, the Board consists of a Chief Commissioner, a Financial Commissioner, and two members, one of whom deals with technical subjects, and the other with general administration, personnel and traffic. The Financial Commissioner deals with all financial questions. Five Directors assist the Board in the five branches of Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Traffic, Finance, and Establishments, and, by disposing of all matters except those of policy or of major importance, relieve the Railway Board of routine work and enable them to concentrate their attention on the larger questions of railway policy. Under the Railway Board each railway has an Agent in supreme charge. Until a few years ago the railways were all administered on the departmental system; the increasing mileage of some of the railways, the growing complexity of traffic problems and modern advances in the science of transportation then necessitated some adjustment in the controlling agency. The old system became unsuited to the working of an increasing traffic over large areas, and the burden falling upon the headquarters staff of the larger railways was so heavy as to render efficient control difficult. A careful analysis of the problem indicated that the remedy lay in adopting a divisional organisation, the main object of which is to fix the responsibility for the whole of the railway work in a certain section of the railway (called a "division") on one officer called the Divisional Superintendent. A "division" may be of any length according to circumstances, but is generally a good deal larger than the old railway districts in which, under the departmental system, there were three or more officers each responsible to the head of his department at the hadquarters of the railway.

Each Divisional Suprintendent is directly responsible to the Agent, the administrative head of the whole Railway, who has on his 'staff' experts in the several branches of railway work. Naturally, the divisional system is not the same in all its details on every railway. Divisional organisation was introduced on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in 1922, on the North Western Railway in 1924, and on the East Indian Railway in January 1925. These improvements in organisation were the administrative counterparts of the very fruitful change in the system of railway-finance which, as we shall see in the next chapter, resulted from the convention concluded in September 1924, between the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly.

In 1872 the total railway mileage in India was a little over 5,300. At the end of March 1928 the total route mileage was approximately 39,712, that is, a greater mileage than is possessed by any country in Europe, and almost double the mileage of the United Kingdom. These figures, and the comparison with European countries, are given merely for the purpose of showing the immensity of the effort made in this matter of railway building in India and not in order to suggest that there ought to be any slackening of effort. For it must be remembered that India is as big as the whole of Europe with the exception of Russia, and it is clear that many gaps in the Indian railway system have got to be filled up before the Indian Government can regard their railway system as complete. The figures quoted in the Explanatory Memorandum of the Railway Budget (*vide* Appendix II thereto) relating to the expenditure to be devoted to the construction of new lines in the future, show clearly that railway development is, to say the least, not likely to flag. During the year under review sanction was accorded to the construction of no fewer than 31 new lines totalling 1,616·38 miles at a probable cost of 15¾ crores of rupees, that is nearly £11 million sterling. As is apparent from the figures, most of these new lines are small branches of feeder lines and only 12 of them reach a length of 50 miles. The longest of them is the Minbu and Pakokku District Railway in Burma, but the proposed Lucknow-Sultanpur-Jaunpur and Lyallpur-Chananwala Railways will be 142 and 110 miles in length respectively. During the year under review 684·53 miles

of new lines were opened for public traffic and at the end of the year a total of 3,696 miles were under construction.

One feature of the Railway Board's programme stands out prominently, and this is the absence of ambitious projects of trunk line construction. The explanation is that India is already well served by trunk lines which follow the outlines of a railway system laid down for her by Lord Dalhousie in the fifties of last century. He foresaw a system of trunk lines connecting the interior of each Presidency with its outlying parts and the different Presidencies with each other. This scheme was to include a trunk line from Calcutta to Lahore, another from Bombay to the North-West of India, another from Madras to Bombay, and a fourth from Madras to the Malabar Coast. Building on that main skeleton a large number of subsidiary trunk lines have been added from time to time and there are now only a few gaps left in the main net-work. The important gaps still to be filled are not in fact more than 4 or 5, and of these, three are in process of being filled, one by the Central India Coalfields Railway which will cross the gap lying between the East Indian and Bengal Nagpur Railways in Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces, another by the Raipur-Parvatipuram line which will complete the link between the Central Provinces and the East Coast, and the third by the Kazipet Bellarshah Railway now being built by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government which will effect a saving of some 200 miles in the journey between Madras and Northern India. There are two other main trunk routes to be constructed before it can be said that the main net-work of trunk lines is completed. One is the Bombay-Sind connection, and the other is the broad gauge connection between Karachi and the United Provinces. The former, because it is to some extent short-circuited by an easy sea-route, has never been considered a very promising undertaking from the financial point of view, but it is believed that its construction will become a matter of some importance as the effect of the contemplated extensive irrigation operations in Sind is felt in increased production. The Government are, therefore, having its financial prospects re-examined, and in order to complete their knowledge of the topography of some of the uninhabited country which has to be crossed, had a survey carried out by aeroplane. As regards the

broad gauge connection between Karachi and the United Provinces, it is felt that the time is not ripe for undertaking the expenditure involved. There are two reasons for this, first that a metre gauge connection exists, which is not seriously overstressed with traffic, and secondly, that there is greater need for using such funds as are available for remunerative branch and feeder lines elsewhere. To this category of main lines may perhaps be added the proposed connection between India and Burma, regarding which a recent investigation of the possibility of discovering a more favourable route through the Arakan mountains has proved unfruitful, and the Government are therefore left with the two routes formerly surveyed, neither of which can at present be regarded a remunerative proposal.

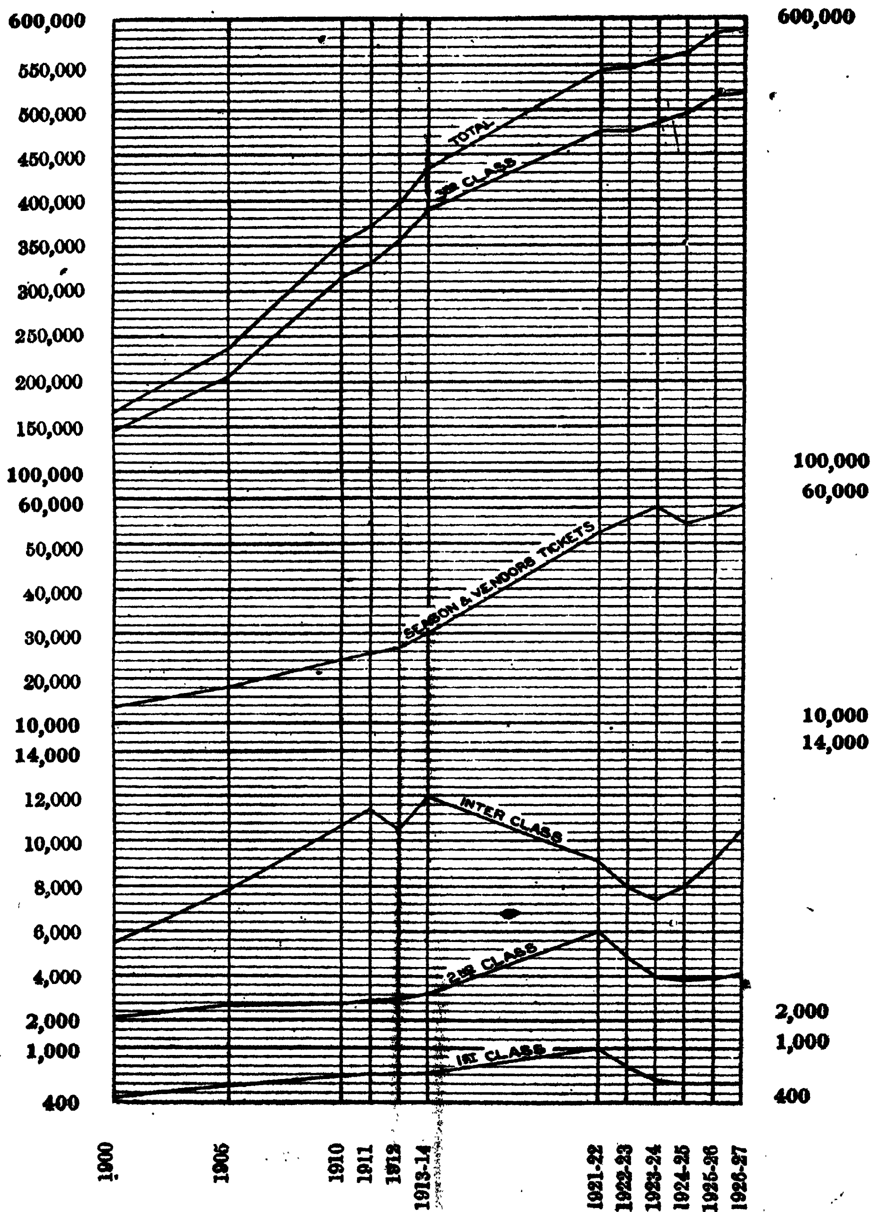
The key-note of the programme, to which the Government of India are now working, is the filling in of the interstices of the net-work of trunk lines with useful branches and feeders so that the benefits of railway service may be brought right to the doors of the agriculturists and the rural population. It will be seen that omitting the two main connections already referred to, namely, the Raipur-Parvatipuram line and the Central India Coalfields Railway, the Government have in their programme nearly 100 projects which average not more than 49 miles apiece and the longest of which is about 100 miles. These are in fact lines designed primarily to serve the interests of the agriculturist and to enable produce to be moved and marketed. The programme may, therefore, be described as an agricultural railway programme. But to fulfil this character it has been necessary to devise cheaply constructed lines, because construction to the ordinary standards would have meant either that the lines will not earn a fair return on their capital, or that they impose an insupportable burden on the carriage of produce and passengers in the very places where it is wished to encourage traffic. Whether these new lines, with their low speeds and low standard of amenities will escape severe criticism remains to be seen, but if they are successful they will pay for gradual improvement up to the standard of the older lines.

In addition to their expenditure on new construction the Railway Board and the Agents of the different railways are undertaking more outlay on improvements in open line facilities, which

DIAGRAM.

Number of Passengers carried on Indian Railways.

(In thousands.)



includes large sums for the improvement of rails and sleepers, for the remodelling of station yards and marshalling yards, and for electrification. During 1927-28 no less than $2\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees were to be expended in improving the standard of comfort for lower class passengers, attention being paid particularly to water supply, waiting rooms and halls, refreshment rooms, booking arrangements, sanitary arrangements and improvements to coaching stock.

In addition to the construction of new lines a number of important open line works were under construction during the year, and good progress is reported to have been made on them. Of these important open line works, special mention may be made of the provision of additional tracks and improved facilities on the Madras Suburban section of the Southern India Railway, the Dhond remodelling on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and the construction of bridges over the Irrawaddy at Sagaing and over the Indus at Kalabagh.

We have already referred in Chapter II to the welcome proof of the financial strength and the efficiency of working of the Indian railways which is afforded by the appreciable reduction in rates and fares announced in the Railway Budget for 1928-29. This is a development which will undoubtedly be appreciated by the Indian public, with whom the railway authorities are now keeping closely in touch through their local Advisory Committees. During the year 1923-24 local advisory committees on some of the railways in India were formed in response to suggestions made in the Legislature and in the press, and since then committees have been formed on all State-owned railways. The subjects discussed at the meetings of these committees cover a very wide range and indicate the increasing value attached by the public to this scheme for third class passengers; passenger and goods traffic rates; opening whom they serve. Of the many subjects discussed by the advisory committees, the following may be mentioned as typical:—Overcrowding in trains; alterations in time tables; arrangements of all sorts for the convenience and comfort of passengers, particularly for third class passengers; passenger and goods traffic rates; opening of new lines and stations; electrification schemes; designs of railway

carriages; settlement of claims; and passengers travelling without tickets.

In last year's report mention was made of the formation of a Rates Advisory Committee to investigate and make recommendations to the Government on such subjects as complaints of undue preference, dissatisfation with rates or with conditions in respect of packing of articles, allegations that railways do not fulfil their obligations to provide reasonable facilities under Section 42 (3) of the Indian Railways Act, and so on. At the end of the year 1926-27, of the cases submitted to the Committee, five remained outstanding and nine new cases were referred to the Committee during 1927-28. Out of four cases in which the Committee submitted their report, the recommendations of the Committee were entirely accepted in two cases. In one case the recommendations of the Committee were rejected and in the fourth case they were accepted with modifications.

Owing to the serious illness of Sir Narasimha Sarma, K. C. S. I., President of the Committee, sittings were temporarily suspended from 21st January 1928. This, however, did not preclude the submission of applications to the Railway Department and Agents of Railways in accordance with the procedure in force. Preliminary enquiries in connection with such applications continued to be made and those of them which were to be submitted to the Committee were forwarded when the Committee resumed sittings in April 1928.

A few years ago, the practice of travelling without tickets on Indian railways was so persistent and widespread as to amount to an appreciable menace to profitable working, and it was felt that extraordinary efforts would have to be made to check this menace. At first it was believed that it might be necessary to amend the Railway Act, but after full enquiry into the matter by experts, it was decided to try various administrative precautions before taking this extreme step. Of these the 'crew' system of ticket checking has proved the most successful and has now been introduced on a number of railways in India. The extent of the losses which the railways suffered before these extraordinary precautions were taken may be estimated from the fact that during the year 1925-26, no fewer than 2,085,863 persons were caught travelling without

tickets and the total amount collected from these people was Rs. 27,71,423.

In the last two reports the efforts made to relieve the congestion of passenger traffic in various thickly populated areas were mentioned. The first electrification scheme to be taken in hand was the Bombay scheme which was quickly followed by the investigation into schemes for electrifying suburban lines in the vicinity of Calcutta and Madras. As regards the Calcutta suburban scheme, it has been found necessary, in view of the heavy expenditure involved, to carry out further investigations both into the estimated cost of the project and into the probable development of traffic in the suburban area, in order to ascertain to what extent the introduction of electric traction on this section is financially justified. A scheme for the electrification of certain suburban lines of the Southern India Railway from Madras Beach was sanctioned during the current year. The introduction of electric traction on this section will not only enable the Railway Administration to cope with the normal increase in the traffic, but will also encourage the expansion of suburban passenger traffic in the area. In January 1928, a further stretch of 23 miles in the neighbourhood of Bombay was electrified in addition to those portions already mentioned in previous reports.

During the year, further investigations have been made into the Madras hydro-electric projects, and into the schemes for the electrification of the Madura-Trichinopoly and certain other sections of the Southern India Railway, for which it is intended to obtain power from hydro-electric sources. The results of these further investigations are awaited.

Readers of last year's report will remember that the general question of the capacity of the workshops of the State Railways and the possibility of their re-organisation and improvement on co-ordinated lines was investigated during the cold weather of 1925-26 by an expert committee presided over by Sir Vincent Raven, formerly Chief Mechnical Engineer of the North Eastern Railway in England. Following their recommendations, a number of Railway Workshops were remodelled or extended, and during the year under review a number of alterations to important workshops have been carried out on the lines recommended by the Raven

Committee. When the alterations to the Great Indian Peninsula Workshops at Jhansi have been completed, facilities will exist for locomotive and carriage and wagon repairs and for that expansion of the manufacturing department of the workshop which is necessary for the adequate supply of spare parts. The Jamalpur Workshops on the East Indian Railway, which are among the oldest and largest in all India, will have to be largely remodelled, and extensive additions and alterations to them will have to be carried out. A scheme for these works is now being prepared. The Peninsular Locomotive Works at Tatanagar, which were purchased by the Indian Government some time ago, are being adapted for the construction of all the bogie coaching under-frames required by the State-managed Railways in India. In future these works will be known as the East Indian Railway's Tatanagar Workshops.

After the all-absorbing subject of India's progress towards self-government the thing that most interests the educated section of the Indian public is probably the Indianisation of the different Government services. When the importance of the railways to the life of the country, and the wide scope of employment which they offer are considered, it will be seen that the Indianisation of the railway services is of very high importance indeed. The word 'Indianisation,' when used in this connection is, of course, applied to the superior or 'gazetted' ranks of the services since the personnel of the lower and subordinate ranks is naturally predominantly Indian. The pace of Indianisation of the gazetted services has been reasonably rapid of late years. Of the permanent gazetted appointments created during 1925-26, and of the vacancies which occurred during that year in such appointments on State-managed Railways, 32 per cent. were filled by Indians. During the following year this percentage practically doubled and amounted to over 62 per cent., whilst during the year under review, 68 per cent. of appointments have been filled by Indians. These appointments were to all branches of railway working, whether engineering or traffic and commerce. The recruitment in India of officers of the superior railway services, and the increasing complexity of railway operating problems demands improved methods of training the staff in their duties. A temporary school at Chandausi was established some time ago to give practical training to junior railway officers and

also to train some of the subordinate ranks. The necessity for a proper Railway Staff College has, however, grown year by year, and to meet the urgent demand for such an institution the Railway Board have recently sanctioned the establishment of a Railway Staff College at Dehra Dun at an estimated cost of Rs. 23,37,840, that is £175,338 sterling. This College is intended for probationary and junior officers and will meet the needs of State-managed Railways for the present. Already good progress has been made on the work of erecting and equipping the College. Considerable attention is now-a-days being devoted to the training of subordinate staff also and there are schools for this purpose at Lyallpur in the Punjab and at Bina in the Central Provinces. These schools will train probationers in the subordinate ranks before they take up their regular duties and will provide instruction for members of the subordinate staff to enable them to qualify for promotion.

Finally, in this connection we might glance briefly at the labour position on the Indian Railways. Since the War, there has been a steady introduction of modern machinery of types evolved during the intensive production period of the War, which, if properly used, enables a higher production to be obtained with a given labour force, or, alternatively, allows production to be maintained at a given level with a smaller labour force. The recommendations made by the Committee presided over by Sir Vincent Raven as a result of their examination of the methods of work in the State Railways Workshops brought prominently to the notice of all railway administrations the economies and increased efficiency to be obtained from the revised methods of work which the introduction of modern machinery permitted. An examination by the Bengal Nagpur Railway Administration showed that an immediate reduction of about 1,600 men in the workshops at Kharagpur had become possible, and in August 1927 the Agent announced his intention of reducing the labour force at Kharagpur by this number. At the same time he offered special terms to workmen who were willing to resign, and these were accepted by about 300 men. The reduction was resented by the workmen, and on the 7th September, when notices of discharge to the number required were issued, they adopted a policy of passive resistance—attending the workshops but doing no work. This continued until, on the 12th of September

when the Agent was constrained to close the workshops until he got an assurance from the men's leaders that they were willing to work. The workshops were re-opened on the 8th of December, 1927. As vague charges of victimisation and unfair treatment had been made, the Agent decided to depute an officer of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, who was not connected with the management of the workshops, to examine the list of discharges and to report to him. At the request of the Agent, the Government of India agreed to depute an officer to be associated with the officer nominated by the Agent in this enquiry, the object of which was not only to review the list of selections for discharge in order that any cases of unfair treatment might be brought to notice, but also to examine the application, in individual cases, of the rules and orders under which the sums due to the men discharged had been determined, and to see that due consideration had been or would be paid to any cases of special hardship. As a result of this equiry 23 workmen who had been discharged were reinstated and in a few cases the compensation given to men who had been discharged was enhanced.

As it was recognised that it would be necessary to effect reduction of labour in the workshops of other railways, as well as probably a further reduction at Kharagpur, in the course of the next few years, the Government of India considered it desirable that the question of how such reduction could best be effected should be fully investigated, and therefore they deputed two officers, one a railway officer with workshop experience, and the other an officer of administrative experience other than railway experience with a knowledge of labour conditions, to visit the Railways on which the necessity for reduction in workshop labour was understood to be imminent. The duties of these officers were to report to the Government regarding the arrangements which should be made in order to secure as far as possible efficient and economical working in the workshops concerned, and to safeguard the interests of the workmen when a large reduction of establishment was found necessary. In particular, the second of the two officers mentioned above was specially charged to report in each case what terms would suffice to secure a substantial number of voluntary resignations and the terms which ought in fairness to be given to the men selected for compulsory discharge when that became unavoidable. By the end of the year

these officers had examined the position in the workshops of the South Indian Railway and had made their recommendations to Government.

Early in 1928 demands were received from workmen in the Carriage and Wagon Workshops of the East Indian Railway at Lillooah for increased wages. On the 5th of March, before the examination of these demands had been completed, the men resorted to passive resistance—entering the shops but refusing to work. On the 6th of March, the Agent announced that his examination showed no justification for any general increase in wages, but that investigation into the question whether the wages earned by any class or classes of workmen at Lillooah were lower than those earned under similar conditions in other workshops in Calcutta and its vicinity, was still proceeding. On the 7th of March, the men came into the workshops, but again refused to work and it became necessary to close the shops until an assurance should be received that the men were prepared to work. The workshops had not been re-opened by the end of the year under review.

It will be seen, therefore, that the labour position on the railways in this country gives grounds for anxiety for the future. However, the present policy of the Indian Railway Board of quick response to and thorough investigation of all reasonable complaints, will, it is to be hoped, be as successful in the future as in the past in averting very widespread or general strikes on the Indian Railways.

Before we leave the railways, we might notice the very interesting publicity work which they have carried out during the year. In last year's report a description was given of the efforts now being made by the railway authorities to reach the large bulk of the people of India, from whom the most paying part of railway business is obtained, by means of advertising material calculated to stimulate their desire to see something of their own country. Cinema films, pamphlets, railway magazines, press propaganda in India and abroad, and reciprocal publicity with the leading railways of the world are all pressed into service. The Railway Board now have a Central Publicity Bureau which was first established in Bombay but was moved to Delhi in March 1928. The most important of the Publicity Department's activities is undoubtedly the production and display of cinema films, of which the majority are

directed towards encouraging 3rd class traffic, the improvement of indigenous primary industries, and the welfare of agriculturists and villagers. Because of the illiteracy of a very large proportion of the Indian population, the cinema is the most effective method of conveying information to the masses. Each State Railway is provided with a travelling cinema projection outfit which moves continuously from place to place over the different systems, and by this means the propaganda films issued from the Central Publicity Bureau are widely circulated. That these displays, which are free, are fully appreciated is proved by the patronage accorded to them. For the six months ending December, 1927, with a total of 396 displays, an attendance of 750,000 spectators was registered, and a progressive census shows that this figure is steadily mounting. The work in this branch of the Publicity Work increased so much that a special Assistant had to be appointed.

Another important and interesting development has been the use of demonstration trains for the purpose of educating the Indian cultivator by giving practical demonstrations of scientific methods in farming, cattle breeding, and dairying. These trains, organised in close co-operation with the Provincial Governments, provide an incomparable method of spreading information and propaganda in connection with Public Health, Veterinary Science, and the work of Government Industries and Co-operative Departments. Each Department is allotted one coach in the train. During the year 1927-28 Demonstration trains were run over the Eastern Bengal Railway and the North Western Railway systems with very great success and were visited by enormous numbers of people in the different places to which they went. It has been decided to repeat the experiment next year, and it is possible that the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway will also use similar trains.

An intensive advertising campaign has been carried out in Great Britain, and from the number of enquiries received regarding tours in India there can be no doubt that it has proved successful. This publicity was carried out jointly with the P. and O. Company, who report that there has been an increase of 300 per cent. in their cold weather short period passenger traffic to India.

Shortly after the inauguration of the Central Publicity Bureau, the need was felt for a representative in England for the purpose of giving information and advice to potential travellers at Home and to handle enquiries arising out of press propaganda. A Publicity Officer was appointed and temporary officers secured in London in which a State Railways Bureau was opened. There is no doubt that this departure has entirely justified itself and it has been decided to create a similar appointment in New York in 1929.



Outside the few great cities of India there is comparatively little motor transport, but there is an immense volume of other wheeled traffic and a vast amount of pack-transport. The road system of India is in consequence a very vital link in her system of communications, for, as we have seen already, although there has been an impressive growth of railway mileage in this country during the past half century, there are still great areas unserved by the railway. India can boast of a number of magnificent main roads including the Grand Trunk Road which runs from Calcutta to Peshawar and is one of the most famous roads in the whole world. But in the average Indian district, the unit, that is, of Indian administration, there may possibly be a metalled road running through the district, linking it up with its neighbours on either side, but it is a somewhat fortunate district which has any arterial metalled roads. Usually the interior of the district is served by what are called in India *kachcha* or unmetalled roads of varying degrees of merit, and, however satisfactory such roads may be in fine weather, they are apt to degenerate into the sort of thing described in the Report of the English Select Committee of 1819 on "The Better Construction of Turnpike Roads and Highways." And where the *kachcha* roads leave off, the foot-paths and bridle tracks between villages, over the hills, and across the deserts begin, suitable at the best for pack-traffic only. The cost of bringing the Indian road system up to the standard with which we are familiar in Western Europe would be staggering, and utterly beyond the resources of the various governmental or local authorities. Nevertheless the necessity and desirability of doing all that is possible to improve the Indian road system have pressed themselves

increasingly on the attention during the past few years, and in November 1927, following a debate on the subject initiated by the Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardi in the Council of State, the Government of India appointed a committee consisting of members of both houses of the Central Legislature with Mr. M. R. Jayakar, M.L.A., as Chairman to enquire into this matter. The Committee were asked to examine the desirability of developing the road system of India and the means by which such development could be financed, and also to consider whether it would be possible, having regard to the distribution of functions between the central and provincial governments, to co-ordinate the activities of the different governing authorities in this country by the formation of a Central Road Board or otherwise. The Committee assembled at New Delhi in November 1927 and drew up a questionnaire. It also appointed a small sub-committee to visit provincial centres and collect evidence, after which the full committee sat at New Delhi during the winter. It is expected that the report will be issued during the summer of 1928.

Province.	Per 100 Sq. Miles-area.			Per 1,00,000 total population.			Per 1,00,000 rural population.		
	Surfaced.	Unsurfaced.	Total.	Surfaced.	Unsurfaced.	Total.	Surfaced.	Unsurfaced.	Total.
Madras . . .	14·15	5·68	19·83	47·90	19·10	67·00	54·70	21·90	76·80
Bombay Presidency .	11·10	10·74	21·84	53·46	51·73	105·19	71·16	68·85	140·01
Sind	0·22	26·86	27·08	3·09	396·76	399·85	3·78	462·70	466·48
Bombay and Sind .	7·01	16·81	23·82	44·84	107·61	152·45	58·30	141·09	199·89
Bengal . . .	4·40	20·90	25·30	7·30	34·30	41·60	7·80	36·70	44·50
United Provinces .	7·30	26·30	33·60	17·00	61·00	78·00	19·00	68·00	87·00
Punjab . . .	3·00	20·00	23·00	14·00	96·10	110·10	16·00	110·00	126·00
Burma . . .	0·83	3·70	4·53	16·60	75·10	91·70	19·60	88·50	108·10
Bihar and Orissa .	4·40	30·70	35·10	10·80	75·00	85·80	11·30	78·30	89·60
Central Provinces	4·68	3·80	8·48	33·60	27·10	60·70	37·30	30·10	67·40
Assam . . .	0·92	14·94	15·86	7·07	114·99	122·06	7·30	120·14	127·44
Mean . . .	5·36	13·14	18·50	22·00	55·90	77·90	24·55	62·40	86·95

Meanwhile, the table given on the opposite page will enable the reader to make a mental picture of the extent of the road system of India and of the relative position of road development in the nine major provinces. The low percentage of surfaced roads in Burma and Assam is due to the large uninhabited hill and forest areas which lie in those provinces, and the very favourable position of Madras as compared with other provinces is noticeable. But even in Madras there are only a little over 14 miles of metalled roads to every 100 square miles of countryside. Sind is an outlying part of the Bombay Presidency, and the difference between the Presidency proper and Sind in the matter of metalled roads is very striking.



Except in Burma and in parts of Bengal and Assam, where waterways form an extensive and valuable part of the system of communications, there is comparatively little transport by river or navigable canal anywhere in this country. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that in the future the aeroplane and airship will be added to the existing forms of transport of men and perhaps of goods also in India. It must be admitted that there is not much to report at present in the matter of civil aviation in India, but there is every hope that before very long civil aviation will be counted as a factor however small at first in Indian communications. On the 5th of April, 1927, Lieut. Colonel F. C. Shelmerdine, O.B.E., Air Ministry Superintendent, Cairo-Karachi Civil Air Service, who had been selected for the appointment of Director of Civil Aviation in India, assumed charge of his office. In preparation for the development of internal air services in India, sites have now been definitely selected and acquired by the Government of India for a seaplane base at Rangoon, and for airship bases at Calcutta and Bombay. A site for an aerodrome has also been acquired at Gaya in Bihar and Orissa. Meanwhile, the proposed scheme of aerial services between England and India has not remained entirely stagnant during the year under review, for the British Airship Mission consisting of Group Captain P. F. M. Fellowes, Director of Airship Development, and Mr. M. A. Giblett, Superintendent of Airship Meteorology, have visited India in connection with the Imperial Airship Scheme and have discussed with

the Government of India matters relating to the provision of a mooring mast at Karachi, and the necessary meteorological and wireless facilities for the proposed Airship Service. The Government of India have arranged to provide a mooring mast at the Airship Base at Karachi at a cost of Rs. 7,36,000. It is hoped that experimental flights of Airships to India will take place in 1929. Also, during the year, one Indian Scholar started on a course of training in civil aviation at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, and the work of revising the Indian Aircraft Act of 1911, in order to bring it abreast of present day conditions, has been started.

A very interesting development is that in connection with the formation of Light Aeroplane Clubs in India. An Air League of India has been formed at Karachi and the League have applied for the grant of financial assistance in connection with the formation of a light aeroplane club at Karachi. Applications for the grant of financial assistance have also been received from the Delhi Light Aeroplane Club, the Bengal Flying Club and the Bombay Flying Club. The Aero Club of India and Burma has also been formed, the chief aims and objects of the club being *inter alia* to encourage and develop the study of aeronautics in all its branches, and to provide a centre of information and advice on matters pertaining to aeronautics, to assist in the formation of light aeroplane clubs and to co-ordinate their activities, both financially and administratively, and to control all competitions, sporting events, or trials in connection with aeronautics in India. A thing of some promise for the future of the Light Aeroplane Clubs is the interest which is being taken in them by many members of the Central Legislature, which, as readers of last year's report will remember, unanimously agreed to grant 10 lakhs of rupees for the development of civil aviation in India.



The next link in the chain of Indian communications is the Posts and Telegraphs Department, which, in addition to its primary function of providing the Indian public with easy and rapid means of intercourse, is, owing to its ubiquity, called upon to act as the agent of the Government in carrying out other essential services

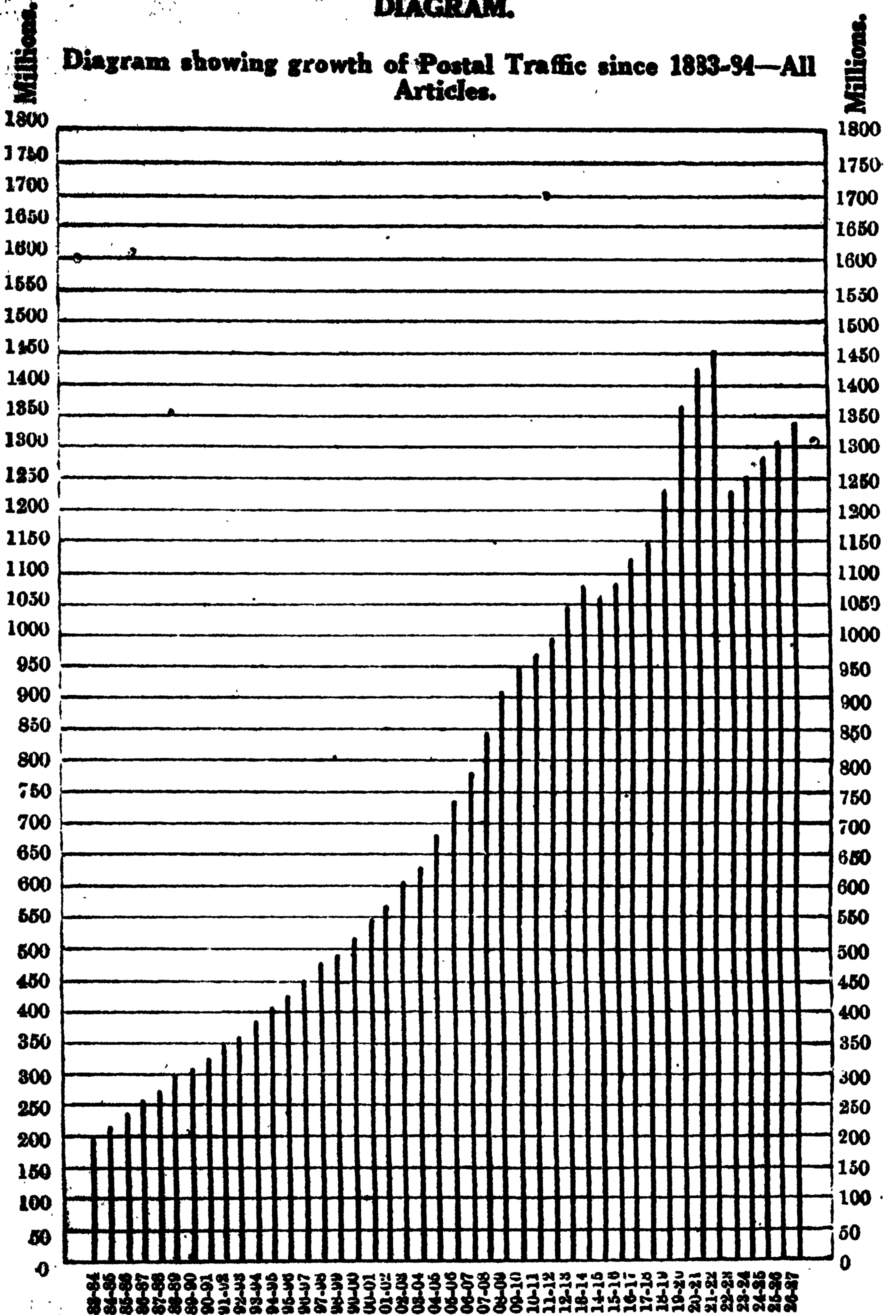
not directly connected with its basic activities. It acts as the banker and agent of the people, enabling them to do their shopping from all distances. It collects customs charges on dutiable articles coming to India by post. It insures the lives of Government employees, and it pays the pensions of retired officials of the Indian Army. It is the custodian of Postal and Telegraphic Stores held in reserve for purposes of Military mobilization, and, finally, among a host of miscellaneous activities it sells quinine. The extent to which these useful functions are carried on may be estimated from the fact that in November 1927 there were about 22,000 post offices in India with about 1,10,000 postal officials.

During the year 1927 the Posts and Telegraphs Department continued to make steady progress in all branches and something of the size of its operations may be grasped from the following few figures for the year ending 31st March 1927, albeit these are of almost astronomical dimensions.

A total of 1,293 million postal articles were handled including 548 million letters, 553 million postcards, 83 million registered newspapers, 93 million packets and 16 million parcels an increase of 20 million articles over the figures for 1925-26. Thirty-seven million money orders of the total value of Rs. 897 millions were issued, on which a sum of Rs. 11½ millions was realised as commission.

Out of 1,330 million articles, including money orders, which were posted during the year, 99·96 per cent. were actually delivered or paid as compared with 99·94 per cent. out of a total of about 1,309 millions in the preceding year. The percentage of articles which the Department failed to deliver is only ·04 and includes a large number of articles with no address of any sort. When it is remembered that large numbers of postal employees have to be recruited from among primitive jungle and hill folk, and that in many parts of India, mail runners and postmen constantly run the risk of death from wild beasts and accidents by flood and field, the fine standard of achievement shown by these figures will stand out all the higher.

The policy of extending postal facilities in rural areas continued to be vigorously pursued. No less than 991 new experimental post offices were opened during the year 1926-27 as against 707 in the


DIAGRAM.
Diagram showing growth of Postal Traffic since 1883-84—All Articles.
Millions.
Millions.
1800
1750
1700
1650
1600
1550
1500
1450
1400
1350
1300
1250
1200
1150
1100
1050
1000
950
900
850
800
750
700
650
600
550
500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
83-84
84-85
85-86
86-87
87-88
88-89
89-90
90-91
91-92
92-93
93-94
94-95
95-96
96-97
97-98
98-99
99-00
00-01
01-02
02-03
03-04
04-05
05-06
06-07
07-08
08-09
09-10
10-11
11-12
12-13
13-14
14-15
15-16
16-17
17-18
18-19
19-20
20-21
21-22
22-23
23-24
24-25
25-26
26-27

previous year. At the end of that year, of the total of 20,737 post offices in existence, 16,381 were in rural areas; as also were 39,435 of the 55,707 letter boxes. So far as telegraph facilities generally are concerned, in addition to 148 telegraph offices proper, 3,710 of the post offices were combined Post and Telegraph offices, while 3,861 post offices were receiving offices where telegrams could be booked for transmission to the nearest telegraph offices. A new scheme was also put into operation for affording telegraph facilities in rural areas. Under this scheme, which is in an experimental stage, a branch postmaster of a village post office or a village postman, authorised by the Postmaster-General of the Circle accepts inland telegrams in English or in vernacular and sends them on by post to the nearest telegraph office for onward transmission by telegraph.

Further to improve postal deliveries in rural areas, a system has been introduced as an experimental measure in the Punjab and North West Frontier Circle for the daily delivery of paid unregistered correspondence to the residents of a village which is not served daily through a village postman. Under this system the villagers themselves arrange for the conveyance of all articles from the post office in a locked bag, and effect their distribution to the respective addresses without any remuneration being paid by the Department for their work. The experiment having proved a success, it has been decided to introduce the system in rural areas in other Circles where local conditions are favourable.

As a result of the recommendations of the Posts and Telegraphs Departmental Committee, 1924-25, it was decided in 1926 to unify the control of the work of the Railway Mail Service and that of the Post Office in the hands of the Postmaster-General. In pursuance of this policy the Western Circle of the Railway Mail Service was abolished and its work was distributed among the Postmasters-General of the Bombay, Madras and Central Circles.

The total distance over which mails were conveyed during the year was 161,289 miles of which motor services contributed 8,319 as compared with 6,883 in the preceding year. There was thus an increase of 1,436 miles in the motor mileage. The Department avails itself of every opportunity of substituting motor services for

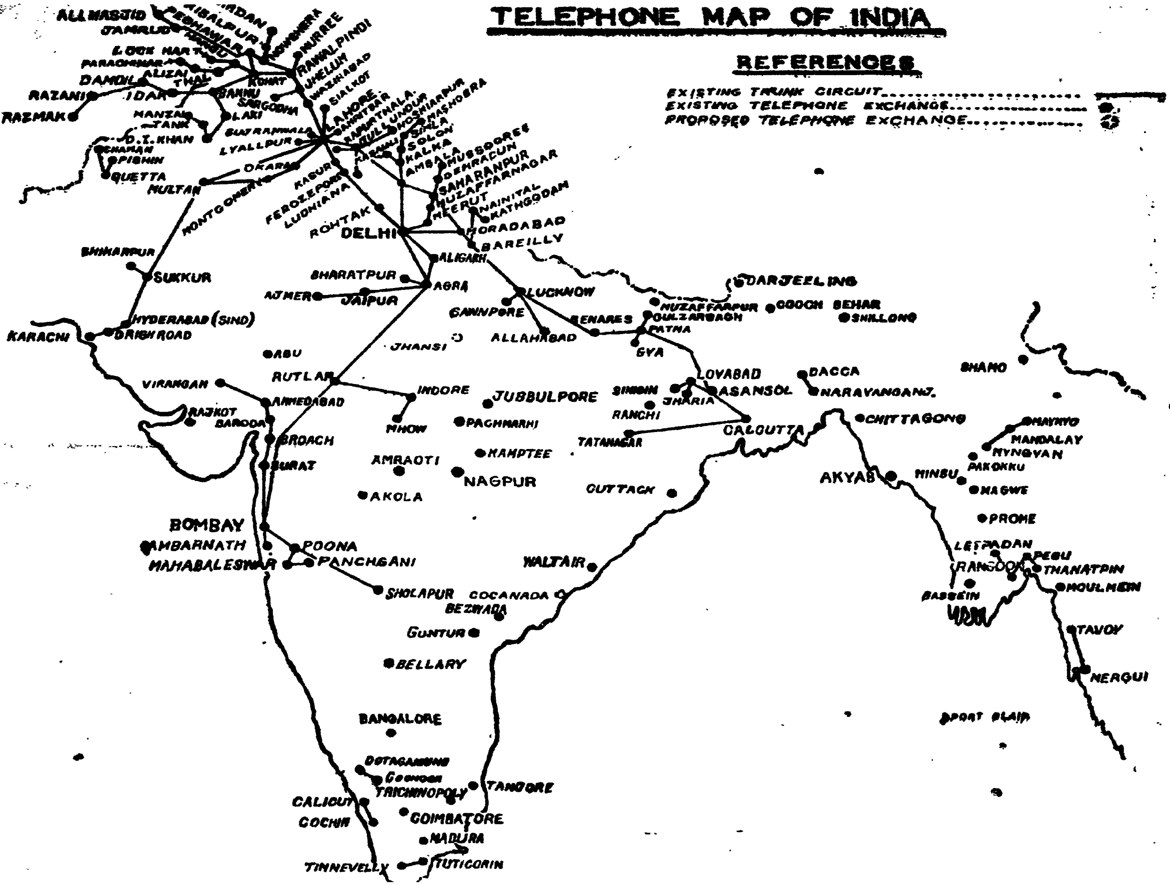
cart or runner services to the great advantage of the public and at little or no extra cost to the Department.

In the realm of international postal activities the "Imperial reply coupon", which is meant for the use only within the British Empire, has been introduced, and the insured box service has been established between Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The limit of weight of parcels exchanged with Germany, British Somaliland and the United States of America has been raised from 11 lbs. to 20 lbs. The telegraphic money order service has been extended to Tanganyika territory and a regular despatch of letter mails has been established by the Basrah-Cairo air route inaugurated by the Imperial Airways Limited.

The telegraph Branch of the Department dealt with 1,60,61,426 inland and 29,61,176 foreign messages of all kinds. A notable incident of the year was the opening of the Beam Service to be referred to later. Among other interesting features was the marked reduction in the rates for foreign telegrams. Owing to the stabilisation of the exchange value of the Rupee at 1*s.*—6*d.* the rates for foreign telegrams were generally reduced with effect from the 1st July 1927. For telegrams to Great Britain and Ireland the rate was fixed at Re. 1-2 per word. In consequence of the reduction in the Cable Company's charges the rates for telegrams to Great Britain and Northern Ireland *viâ* Eastern and Indo was further reduced to Re. 1 per word from the 1st September, 1927. From the same date a week-end letter telegram service was introduced with these countries at three annas per word subject to a minimum charge of twenty words per telegram. A general reduction was also effected in the rates for telegrams to other countries to the west of India with effect from the 1st October 1927.

The telegraph and telephone line is so common a sight to the passer-by on foot, by car or railway that it is taken for granted. Few people stop to think of the enormous length of line and wire spread in a net-work over the face of India and Burma. There were, at the end of the year 1926-27, well over half a million miles of wire spread over 97,515 miles of aerial line. Of these totals, cables accounted for 1,052 miles of line with 78,253 miles of cable conductors. Numerous are the interruptions to which a telegraph line is heir. Birds are its greatest enemies. Crows have a habit

DIAGRAM.


TELEPHONE MAP OF INDIA
REFERENCES
EXISTING TRUNK CIRCUIT
EXISTING TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
PROPOSED TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
ALI MASJID
JAMRUD
PESHAWAR
NOWSHERA
MURREE
RAWALPINDI
JHELUM
WAZIRABAD
SIALKOT
LOCK HART
PARACHINAR
DAMDIL
ALIZAI
THAL
KOHAT
BANNU
SARGODHA
RAZANI
IDAK
RAZMAK
MANZAI
TANK
LAKI
D.I. KHAN
CHAMAN
PISHIN
QUETTA
MULTAN
LYALLPUR
OKARA
LAHORE
AMRITSAR
KAPURTHALA
JULLUNDUR
HOSHIARPUR
DHARAMSALA
SIMLA
SOLON
KALKA
AMBALA
MUSSOORIE
DEHRADUN
SAHARANPUR
MUZAFFARNAGAR
MEERUT
NAINITAL
KATHGODAM
MORADABAD
BAREILLY
KASUR
FEROZEPORE
LUDHIANA
MONTGOMERY
ROHTAK
DELHI
ALIGARH
SHIKARPUR
SUKKUR
HYDERABAD (SIND)
DRIGH ROAD
KARACHI
BHARATPUR
AGRA
AJMER
JAIPUR
LUCKNOW
CAWNPORE
ALLAHABAD
BENARES
JHANSI
ABU
RUTLAM
INDORE
MHOW
JUBBULPORE
PACHMARHI
KAMPTEE
NAGPUR
AMRAOTI
AKOLA
VIRANGAM
RAJKOT
BARODA
AHMEDABAD
BROACH
SURAT
BOMBAY
AMBARNATH
MAHABALESWAR
POONA
PANCHGANI
SHOLAPUR
COCANADA
BEZWADA
GUNTUR
BELLARY
BANGALORE
OOTACAMUND
COONOOR
TRICHINOPOLY
TANJORE
CALICUT
COCHIN
COIMBATORE
MADURA
TINNEVELLY
TUTICORIN
WALTAIR
CUTTACK
TATANAGAR
RANCHI
JHARIA
LOVABAD
ASANSOL
CALCUTTA
GYA
PATNA
GULZARBAGH
MUZAFFARPUR
DARJEELING
COOCH BEHAR
SHILLONG
DACCA
NARAYANGANJ
CHITTAGONG
BHAMO
AKYAB
MINBU
MAYMYO
MANDALAY
MYINGYAN
PAKOKKU
MAGWE
PROME
LETPADAN
RANGOON
PEGU
THANATPIN
MOULMEIN
BASSEIN
TAVOY
MERGUI
PORT BLAIR

of building their nests on a pair of parallel horizontal wires up against a post. This may be convenient for the crow, but, as he seems to prefer a residence made of bits of wire, his building propensities cause a considerable amount of inconvenience to the telegraphs. When a line is in the vicinity of a slaughter house, the birds of the vicinity seem to take a delight in dropping bits of offal on the line. The telegraph line is also susceptible to heat and cold; and in a country like India where there is a considerable rise and fall in the temperature in twentyfour hours the strain on the metal of a line is very great. A line again is exposed to the full fury of a storm. A post may be undermined by a flood. A falling tree may break up the whole strand of lines or at the least a branch or a twig will put it out of action. A line, if it is too low, may come in for the attention of wandering camels. Nevertheless, in spite of these many troubles of the telegraph line, which are remedied at the soonest possible moment by a staff of linemen, the telegraph system works on the whole satisfactorily. As most people are perhaps aware, the system of telegraphy universally adopted for the main lines in India is the Baudot Printing Telegraph. This system has its merits and its defects, but during the year it worked well though it was subject to occasional stoppages when the lines required overhauling or were interrupted. It may be mentioned that between Rangoon and Madras, Quad (as four-channel Baudot is called) was worked during the year by Wireless.

The telephone branch continued to expand. On the 31st March, 1926, there were 250 exchanges with 15,936 connections, while on the 31st March, 1927, there were 271 exchanges with 17,115 connections. The revenue showed an equal expansion. On the 31st March 1926, Rs. 26,60,824 were collected for the hire of telephone connections and Rs. 5,72,292 for trunk call fees. In 1927, these figures had gone up to Rs. 33,15,261 and Rs. 7,68,573 respectively. On the 31st March, 1927, there were also 18 licensed telephone exchanges with 28,384 connections. On the 12th January, 1927, a long distance trunk service was opened to the public between Calcutta and Delhi and in order to popularise the service a concession rate was allowed for a limited period. The trunk now extends from Calcutta *viâ* Delhi to Bombay. When the line conditions are favourable, speech is satisfactory, but it must be admitted

that perfection has not yet been reached and the Engineers of the Department have still to effect considerable improvement before good speech can be guaranteed. As an example of the expansion of the trunk line system, it may be stated that 17 new trunks were opened during the year.

A feature of the administration of the Engineering Branch during the year is a reduction in the value of stores purchased in England. This reduction has been in progress for some time, as the Department has been able to find the stores required in India itself. 1927-28 showed a marked improvement in this respect, for the value of stores purchased in the United Kingdom fell from Rs. 13,69,000 to Rs. 8,36,500. A Freight Section was formed in the Office of the Controller of Telegraph Stores, Calcutta, from the 1st March 1927 in order that the cheapest and most suitable routes for the despatch of stores might be studied continually by the agency responsible for the issue and that a general reduction in freight charges might be thereby effected.

The Revised Estimate of gross receipts of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department during the year 1927-28 amounts to Rs. 10·94 crores which is higher by about 41 lakhs than the actual gross receipts of 1926-27. The Revised Estimate of working expenses for 1927-28 is Rs. 10·44 crores which is higher than the actual working expenses of 1926-27 by 53 lakhs. Taking into account the interest charges which the Department has to pay for its capital assets, the Revised Estimate indicates that there will be a net loss Rs. 5 lakhs on the working of the Department for the year 1927-28 as compared with a net profit Rs. 10 lakhs in 1926-27.

During 1927 the Wireless Branch of the Department showed considerable activity. The new coast wireless station at Santa Cruz near Bombay was completed and opened for traffic, whereupon the old station at Butcher Island was closed and dismantled. Arrangements are being made for a direction-finding installation to be erected in connection with the new station. The new receiving station near Malir (Karachi) was completed. This station includes a direction-finding installation for ships and aircrafts which is located a short distance from the civil aerodrome, and works in conjunction with the remodelled transmitting station at Karachi Cantonment. To the uninitiated it may be explained that a direc-

tion-finding station gives to the captain of a ship or pilot of an aeroplane his direction along a given line. A second station will give him his direction on another line. The intersection of these two lines gives him his exact position. The experimental direction-finding station erected at Saugor Island for the Calcutta Port Commissioners was transferred to Diamond Harbour and continued to give reliable results. The question of a permanent installation is being considered.

The obsolete "spark" installations at Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore and Allahabad were dismantled and replaced by modern continuous-wave sets. Continuous-wave apparatus is also to be installed at other inland stations.

In connection with a decision to work the Madras-Rangoon duplex wireless circuit normally on the Wheatstone System instead of the Baudot System as an experimental measure, a number of selected operators were given special training in Wheatstone working on up-to-date methods in the Wireless School at Alipore (Calcutta). Wheatstone working was introduced on this circuit in November and has given satisfactory results. A further extended trial of this system is being made.

The Director of Wireless and an officer of the Telegraph Traffic Branch represented India as delegates at the International Radio-telegraph Conference at Washington in October and November. This was the first conference of its kind held since 1912 and it assumed considerable importance owing to the extensive developments in wireless telegraphy which have taken place during the last 15 years.

The Marconi "Beam" Stations near Kirkee and Dhond were completed by the Indian Radio-telegraph Company and direct communication with England is now established. The inauguration of this wireless service by His Excellency the Viceroy took place in Bombay on the 23rd July and, after having undergone the official tests, the service was opened for public traffic on the 6th September. Since then it has worked very satisfactorily and has added an important line of direct communication between India and England. A steadily increasing amount of traffic to and from Europe, America and Africa has been handled at lower charges than those levied

by the older companies, and these have in consequence reduced their charges to meet the new competition.

During 1927 the Indian Broadcasting Company completed their broadcasting station at Bombay, which was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 23rd July. The Calcutta station was completed later and was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 26th August. These are the first stations established in India for commercial broadcasting on lines similar to those which have been working for some years in England. The number of Broadcast Receiver licenses issued in India, excluding Burma, in the latter half of the year was 3,080, as compared with 330 in the first half. Burma is not included in the scope of the Indian Broadcasting Company and the Burma Radio Syndicate has been formed for the purpose of establishing a provisional broadcasting service for Burma and has erected a station in Rangoon. In consequence of the opening of these broadcasting stations, the experimental broadcasting by certain radio clubs has ceased.



Intimately connected with Wireless, Broadcasting, Aviation and Shipping, among the various subjects treated in this chapter, is the working of the Indian Meteorological Department which has accomplished a very full and varied programme of work during the period with which we are dealing.

The provision of adequate meteorological information to the proposed Imperial Airships on their flights between Basrah and Karachi was the first outstanding question to be considered during the year under review. The scheme accepted by the Indian Government contemplates action in three distinct and separate stages; firstly the immediate stage on which action has been taken on the lines explained below; secondly the intermediate stage, to be completed before the experimental airships begin to carry out their trials between Egypt and India, and thirdly the ultimate action necessary for the frequent and regular service, which is not expected to start before 1930 or 1931. The first stage of the scheme, for which the State sanctioned Rs. 68,000, was almost completed by the end of the year; additional surface observatories were established along the airship route; pilot balloon observations to determine the

upper air currents were started at Bahrein, Muscat and Gwadar; and marine co-operation was extended to ships plying in the north-east Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. The Karachi Meteorological Office has thus been placed in a position to gather and study an increased supply of weather information from the Persian and Mekran coasts and the neighbouring sea areas. At Karachi itself there are special meteorological problems to be studied in connection with the landing and mooring of airships, problems particularly of wind gustiness and of vertical air temperature gradient in the first 250 feet above ground. For these purposes a mast 260 feet high has been erected at the Airship Base, Karachi, and special instruments, made in England, will soon be mounted on it. Personal contact and discussion with British airship officials was fortunately made possible through the visit to India of the Director of Airship Development and the Superintendent of airship meteorology, of whom the latter visited the Simla Meteorological Office and both visited the observatories at Agra and Karachi. This personal contact is being further promoted by the deputation to Europe for about a year of Dr. B. N. Banerji, the meteorologist-in-charge, Karachi, to study the recent developments in aeronautical meteorology in England, Germany, Norway and France.

A large number of weather reports and forecasts was supplied during the year in connection with aeroplane flights. Of these, special mention may be made of the flight of four seaplanes from England to Singapore and the various attempted non-stop flights from Europe to India and the Far East. The Meteorological Officers at Quetta and Peshawar continued to supply weather reports regularly to the Royal Air Force in northwest India.

In view of the rapid development of aviation the Indian Government have sanctioned an important extension of pilot balloon stations and it is hoped that all the new stations will begin to operate at an early date. Meanwhile the Agra Upper Air Observatory is continuing its researches and with the help of its sub-stations is collecting valuable information regarding the structure and circulation of the upper layers of the atmosphere. Records of air pressure, temperature, and humidity up to heights of 12 or 15 miles have been obtained by means of sounding balloons. Similar information up to lesser heights has been collected at

Peshawar, Risalpur, Kohat, and Karachi also by means of aeroplane ascents carried out with the co-operation of the Royal Air Force.

At headquarters attempts have been made to apply modern theories of meteorology to the study of Indian weather charts. The physical aspects of weather have been studied and attempts made to recognise masses of air having different histories and physical properties. Diagnosis of weather charts by such means often seemed to show that the weather experienced was the outcome of conflicts between different air masses, and the new ideas have certainly proved helpful in forecasting under Indian conditions. Other scientific activities of the department were devoted as before to seismographic records at various centres, magnetic work at Alibag and Bombay, and solar physics observations at the Kodaikanal observatory. At Bombay an interesting experiment on earth-currents has been undertaken and a careful study is being made of the microseisms, which, in favourable circumstances, appear to furnish early indications of the existence of disturbed weather out at sea.

The storm and heavy rainfall warnings were issued as usual from Simla and Calcutta. During the year 3 storms formed in the Arabian Sea and 5 in the Bay of Bengal, and ports and ships were duly warned in each case. Warnings were also issued on 36 occasions to the Arabian Sea area from Simla, and on 38 occasions to the Bay of Bengal area from Calcutta in connection with depressions, squally weather or winter disturbances. The warnings were reported to have been generally satisfactory.

It may not be out of place to mention briefly a few schemes which are now engaging the attention of this department. The most important of these is the plan for a study of Nor'westers. These violent local storms cause considerable loss of life and property almost every year in northeast India. A scheme for detailed weather observations in northeast India for a period of two years has therefore been drawn up and is under the consideration of the Government of India.

Considerable progress has been made in the construction of the new headquarters' buildings at Poona, which are expected to be completed in June or July 1928.

The Director-General of Observatories, Mr. J. H. Field, after having rendered over 21 years' service under the Government of India retired in March 1928. His name will always be coupled with the start and development of upper air research in India. We might close our narrative of the developments which have taken place in India's system of communications during the year by briefly describing a group of activities connected with ports and shipping in this country.



Mention was made in " India in 1925-26 " of a scheme for the central administration of shipping and navigation, lighthouses and so on, drawn up in Delhi in November 1924, at a conference of representatives of the Provincial Governments, the Chairmen of the Port Trusts of the major ports, Port Officers, Port Health Officers, and representatives of the Departments of the Government of India. As a result of these discussions the Government of India decided that (1) shipping and navigation and (2) lighthouses should be administered direct, and that legislation should be undertaken so as to vest the necessary statutory powers in the Governor General in Council. They also decided that the question of the major ports, about which there was some difference of opinion, should be reconsidered later when experience of the central administration of other subjects had been gained. Port quarantine, which is closely connected with the sanitation of the port generally, would also be dealt with separately. As we shall see immediately, the Indian Lighthouse Act, which was passed in September 1927, provides for the direct administration of lighthouses by the Governor General in Council. As a next step in the centralisation scheme, a Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, so as to provide for the administration of shipping and navigation by the Governor General in Council direct, instead of through the agency of the Provincial Governments, was introduced and passed during the Delhi Session of the Indian Legislature of 1928. At the close of the year under review the new Act had not yet been brought into force.

The Indian Lighthouse Act vests in the Governor General in Council the statutory powers necessary for the direct administration

by the Central Government of the central subject of lighthouses, lightships, beacons, etc. It has not yet been brought into force, as the Government of India have decided first to set up the necessary administrative machinery which will enable them properly to discharge the statutory powers vested in them by the Act. At the close of year under review steps were being taken to engage the necessary staff.

During the year the Bengal Pilot Service underwent reorganisation on receipt of orders from the Secretary of State. The old piece-work system of pay has been replaced by a time-scale and the service is now under the administrative charge of a Senior Pilot entitled "Deputy Port Officer (Pilotage) Calcutta." A very interesting happening during the year was the fitting up of the S. S. "Dufferin" as a Training Ship for Indian Cadets for the Mercantile Marine. The first course on her began on the 1st December 1927 and 30 cadets were selected for training. The Ship has been placed under the command of a Royal Indian Marine Officer as Captain Superintendent, assisted by a staff of experienced instructors, and an influential Governing Body representative of all the interests concerned has been appointed.

A question which has assumed some importance and been the subject of enquiry within the past few years is that of the conditions prevailing on Native Passenger ships. The Committee on Life-saving appliances found that the rules in force in regard to the carriage of life-saving appliances by such ships were out-of-date and they recommended their revision in accordance with modern requirements. The Deck Passenger Committee reported in favour of the adoption of a more liberal scale of space allowance for deck passengers and the supply of improved sanitary arrangements. The provisional conclusions at which the Government of India arrived in regard to these matters were published in 1925 but they evoked much criticism from the shipping interests in this country. In view, however, of the fact that the questions involved were technical the Government of India felt that it would not be desirable to come to a final decision in regard to the rules without competent advice. The services of a Ship Surveyor experienced in the administration of the Board of Trade were therefore obtained from the Board and an officer of the Royal Indian Marine, who has had nautical train-

ing with the Board of Trade, was also associated with him to deal with the nautical aspects of the questions. These officers had not completed their investigation at the close of the year.



Finally, let us glance at the schemes now on foot for port and harbour development in this country. A brief description of the scheme for the development of the Vizagapatam Harbour was given in the last year's report. The suction dredger, "Vizagapatam", which met with a serious accident in March 1927, returned from Calcutta, after undergoing necessary repairs, about the end of December. Throughout the year reclamation work was vigorously pushed on, and bunds were constructed around the railway and the manganese wharf area on the north side of the dock reclamation area and the storage canal. Good progress was made with the sinking of the monoliths of the wharf wall, though work was at first somewhat hampered owing to the late delivery of the two loco cranes which had been ordered from England. The provision of an additional wharf for dealing exclusively with the manganese ore traffic, and of a dry dock, was sanctioned during the year, and a start was made with their construction. Work on the construction of staff quarters is well in hand. The general lay out of the railway connections was approved by the Railway Board and the preparation of the estimates was taken in hand. Certain anti-malarial measures were also carried out in accordance with the advice of the Director of the Central Malaria Organisation with the Government of India.

The question of the development and the future administration of the port of Chittagong had been under consideration for a long time. This port is the outlet to the sea of the Province of Assam and the Government of India considered it desirable that its future development should be co-ordinated with that of the Assam-Bengal Railway. This object can best be attained if the port comes under the direct control of the Central Administration, because this will, *inter alia,* facilitate the financing of its development. A Bill to amend the Chittagong Port Act, 1914, in order to transfer the statutory powers from the Provincial Government to the Governor General in Council was accordingly introduced and passed in March 1928. The Board of Commissioners for the port was reconstituted

at the same time so as to give more effective representation to local interests. The amending Act came into force from the 1st April 1928 from which date the port was also declared to be a major port.

CHAPTER VI.

Trade and Commerce.

For some years before the Reforms, important business and other interests in this country had demanded some measure of protection for the growing industries of India. In the fiscal affairs of India the introduction of the Reformed constitution ushered in a New era, and as a consequence of the changed relations between India and Great Britain, India controls her own Fiscal Policy to a greater extent than before. In accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill the Secretary of State normally refrains from interference in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement. In 1921, a Commission consisting both of officials and of representatives of European and Indian commercial interests, was appointed to examine, with reference to all the interests concerned, the Tariff Policy of Government. The preliminary recommendations formulated in the report urged the adoption of a policy of protection, which was to be applied with discrimination along certain general lines carefully indicated. In the selection of industries for protection, and in the degree of protection to be afforded, the Commission recommended that the inevitable burden on the community should be as light as was compatible with the development of the industries themselves. The report further recommended the creation of a Tariff Board to investigate the claims of particular industries to protection, to watch the operation of the tariff, and generally to advise the Government and the Legislature in carrying out the policy formulated by the Commission. Certain canons were laid down for the guidance of the Tariff Board. This body was to satisfy itself that the industries seeking protection possessed natural advantages; that without the help of protection they were unlikely to develop; and that they would eventually be able to face world-competition unprotected. The Commission also proposed that raw materials and machinery should ordinarily be admitted free of duty; that semi-manufactured goods used in Indian industries should be taxed as lightly as possible; and that the industries essential for the purposes of national defence, and for the development of which Indian conditions are not unfavourable,

should, if necessary, receive adequate protection. Government accepted on principle the recommendations of the Commission, but laid stress upon the fact that India's Tariff Policy must be guided by the requirements of revenue as well as the interests of industry. Early in 1923 the Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Council brought forward a motion in the Legislative Assembly summarising on this sense the Policy of the Government of India. He announced in addition that Government had decided to constitute a Tariff Board on an experimental measure for one year. After an animated debate in which the conflicting interests of Commerce and Agriculture found clear expression, the Assembly adopted the official motion as a reasonable compromise. Shortly afterwards a Tariff Board was constituted. The Board is still in existence as in view of the applications received from various industries it has been found necessary to extend the life of the Board from time to time.

In last year's report reference was made to the appointment of a special Tariff Board to investigate the conditions of the cotton textile industry in India with special reference to the industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad, to examine the causes of the existing depression, and to make recommendations. The Board found that the depression was largely due to causes which were not peculiar to India but were world wide in their operation, and that in India itself, the depression had been much more acutely felt in Bombay than in other centres. The Board attributed this state of affairs partly to causes for which the millowners themselves were responsible, partly to the competition of mills in other parts of India and partly to competition from Japan. In the opinion of the Board, Japanese competition was severely affecting the industry in respect both of yarn and piece-goods, and, in so far as that competition was facilitated by inferior conditions of labour in Japan, the industry had established its claim to protection against it. The inferior conditions particularly referred to arose from the provision of the Japanese Factory Law permitting the employment of women by night. The Board estimated that the advantage to the Japanese mills arising from such conditions came to about 4 per cent. But if a reasonable return on capital was included in the cost of production the advantage increased to 10 per cent. on yarn and 12½ per cent. on cloth. The competition

was most intense in respect of counts of yarn from 31*s*. to 40*s*. and the majority of the Board recommended a bounty of one anna per lb., or its equivalent, for a period of four years on the production of yarn of 32*s*. and higher counts based on the output of an average of 15 per cent. of the total working spindleage of a mill. The majority also proposed that the import duty on cotton piece-goods should be increased from 11 to 15 per cent. for a period of three years. The primary object of the increase was to provide funds to meet the cost of the proposed bounty on the spinning of finer counts and of certain other proposals made by the Board, but it was also intended to reduce the rigour of the competition from Japan from which the industry suffered. The President of the Board, Mr. Noyce, did not consider an all round increase in the duty on piece-goods to be justified, and recommended an additional duty of 4 per cent. on all cotton manufactures imported from Japan for a period of three years. The Board proposed several other measures for the assistance of the industry, the most important of which was the remission of the import duty on cotton textile machinery and on certain mill stores for a period of three years.

The Government of India announced their decision on the recommendations of the Board on the 7th June 1927. They agreed to the removal of import duties on certain classes of machinery and mill stores permanently and not for a limited period of three years only, but they were unable to accept the proposals of the majority of the Board for the payment of a bounty on the spinning of finer counts of yarn, and for the increase of the duty on piece-goods. They were also unable to accept the recommendation of the Chairman of the Board that an additional duty of 4 per cent. should be imposed on cotton manufactures imported from Japan.

Strong representations were made by the industry against these decisions and in consequence the Government of India reviewed them with the desire to take such further steps as were possible to assist the industry where this could be done without sacrifice of principle and with due regard to the interests of India as a whole. They found it impossible to approve either the proposed bounty or the differential duty against Japan, but came to the conclusion that the cotton spinning industry could fairly claim additional assistance on account of the double shift working in Japanese mills rendered possible by the night work of women. It was estimated that all reasonable claims would be met if the existing

duty of 5 per cent. on yarn were made subject to a specific minimum of one and a half annas per pound. In order, however, to minimise the burden on the handloom industry as far as possible, and in order also to facilitate the diversification of Indian mill production, they decided to include in the proposals to be placed before the Legislature the reduction from 15 to 7½ per cent. of the duty on artificial silk yarn which is being used in increasing quantities both by the handloom weavers and by the cotton mills. The list of cotton mill stores proposed to be exempted from duty was also amplified. The Bills relating to these changes were passed into law after a prolonged debate in the Assembly as the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act, 1927, and the Indian Tariff (Cotton Yarn) Amendment Act, 1927. The latter Act however provides that the safeguarding duty on cotton yarn should remain in force only till 31st March 1930. This limitation has reference to the fact that it is expected that the night work of women in Japanese mills will be abolished on 30th June 1929, and that yarn produced under double shift conditions will not be on the market for more than a few months afterwards.



Turning now from the special Board to the regular Tariff Board we find that the latter, during the year under review, concluded their investigations into the claims for protection to the manufacture of railway wagons and component parts thereof, bolts and nuts and wire and wire nails and the enquiry into the question of tariff equality in respect of hair, cotton and canvas ply belting. Also, questions regarding the appropriate rates of duty to be levied on printing paper, the grant of protection to the plywood and tea chest industry, and the safeguarding of the petroleum industry against the dumping of imported kerosine were referred to the Board for examination during the year.

In their report which was published on the 25th February 1928, the Board found that given a sufficiency of orders, the railway wagon and underframe industry no longer required any assistance beyond the existing revenue duty and that the continuance of the bounty scheme which had been in force during the previous three years was unnecessary. Owing, however, to the probable restriction in the normal demand for wagons during the next two or three years consequent on improvements in railway administration,

the Board considered that assistance should be given to the industry during this period. They accordingly recommended that until the demand for wagons became normal, tenders should be called for only in India and accepted if within a certain maximum price and that subject to minor adjustments the maximum price should be fixed by an addition of 12½ per cent. to the lowest prices paid in November 1925, for wagons and in April 1926, for underframes. The Government of India accepted this recommendation with certain modifications. It appeared to them, however, that if the Indian wagons building firms refused to take the orders at the maximum price which Government considered reasonable, it would be necessary to call for simultaneous tenders in England, and that if the import duty remained at 10 per cent., there was a danger that some of the orders might be lost to India. They accordingly proposed to raise the rate of import duty on wagons and underframes and certain component parts to the rates applicable to fabricated steel generally. A Bill purporting to give effect to the Government proposals was introduced in the Assembly and referred by it to a Select Committee. The Committee, however, took the view that it would be an undesirable precedent to increase the measure of protection recommended by the Board and thought it advisable to maintain the existing revenue rate of duty of 10 per cent. and to arrange that all the orders were placed in India. The Bill as amended by the Select Committee was passed by the Legislature and became law as the Steel Industry (Protection) Act, 1928. The Act also gave effect to the Tariff Board's recommendations, accepted by Government, that a duty of Rs. 2 per cwt. be levied on iron or steel bolts and nuts in place of the existing *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent., so as to remove the inequality of tariff treatment between the Indian manufacturer of these articles and his foreign competitors; and that the protective duty on wire and wire nails should be discontinued.

The Tariff Board recommended a bounty of Rs. 2-8 per cwt., on steel castings manufactured by the Hukumchand Electric Steel Works for railway rolling stock. Enquiries made by Government, however, showed that another firm in India was also equipped to produce steel castings from indigenous materials, while the effective railway demand was barely sufficient to keep even one firm fully employed. In the circumstances Government came to the conclusion that the conditions justifying protection for the manu-

facture of steel castings did not exist, they were, therefore, unable to accept the bounty scheme recommended by the Board.

The only other enquiry conducted by the Tariff Board which need be mentioned here is that into the Oil Industry which arose from representations received from a number of companies engaged in the production of petroleum in India, asking for protection against the injury inflected on them by the kerosine price war in progress in India between the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Royal Dutch Shell Group. The companies stated that as a result of the price war, kerosine was being sold in India at prices well below world parity, and that its continuance might lead to the extinction of the weaker companies in India. The matter was referred to the Tariff Board just before the close of the year.



The way is now clear for a discussion of the trade of India in 1926-27, the latest year for which statistics are available. After what has been said above about the fiscal policy of this country, it is not surprising to find that the proportion of imported manufactured goods to total imports tends to fall and during 1926-27 this class of imports accounted for 72·8 per cent. as compared with 74·3 per cent. during the preceding year and 76·6 per cent. in the pre-war period. Conversely, the proportion of manufactured goods exported from India tends to rise and during 1926-27, these formed 28·3 per cent. of India's exports as compared with 23·9 per cent. in 1925-26 and 23·1 per cent. in the pre-war period. From the above figures it will be seen that normally about three-fourths of India's imports consists of manufactured articles, while raw materials including food-stuffs, bear about the same proportion to her total exports. The value of total exports of merchandise amounted to Rs. 309 crores as compared with Rs. 385 crores in 1925-26, showing a reduction of about 20 per cent. The most important factor that contributed to this decrease was the heavy fall in the world prices of raw materials, particularly of cotton and jute. On the other hand, the value of imports showed some slight expansion, being valued at Rs. 231 crores as against Rs. 226 crores in the preceding year, an increase of approximately 2 per cent. The general level of prices for the kinds of commodities which form the great bulk of India's exports is still appreciably lower than that of the

manufactured goods which are her main imports. During 1926-27 the gap between the two levels widened again after having shown some approximation during the previous year. The existence of this gap is a partial explanation of the falling off in India's import trade in recent years as compared with the pre-war period.

We saw in Chapter I and, in the chapter following this, further reference will be made to the same subject, that trade conditions in India were generally good during the year under review. But, of course, no country is a self-contained economic unit now-a-days, and economic conditions exert a powerful influence on Indian trade and commerce. In last year's report we saw that in Europe, India's most important trade connection, financial and general economic conditions have been steadily improving for some time. During the twelve months ending on March 1st, 1928, much progress was made towards world wide international financial stability and in particular the rapid fluctuations in the comparative values of currencies are, except for one or two outstanding examples, now things of the past.

A very notable attempt to grapple with one important aspect of the problem presented by existing economic conditions is represented by the International Economic Conference which met at Geneva from May 4th to May 23rd 1927. The Conference was attended by delegates from fifty countries including both members and non-members of the League. The delegates were selected by the Governments concerned on the basis of their technical and personal qualifications and were not spokesmen of any official policy. The Indian delegation consisted of Sir Ness Wadia, Sir Campbell Rhodes, and Dr. L. K. Hyder. The Agenda of the Conference was divided into two parts; the first covering the general review of the world economic position, and the second, Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture. Resoutions and Recommendations of far reaching importance were passed at the Conference on these subjects. Broadly speaking, there is a large measure of harmony between the principles on which the present economic regime in India is based and those advocated by the Conference.

Another important event of the year was the meeting of the International (Diplomatic) Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions which opened at Geneva on the 17th October and continued until the 8th November 1927.

India was represented at the Conference by Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, assisted by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, the Indian Trade Commissioner. The Conference drew up an International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, the main requirement of which is that Contracting Parties should abolish, within six months of its coming into force, in their respective territories all prohibitions and restrictions not falling within certain general exemptions. The Convention has been signed on behalf of India subject to a declaration that none of the Indian States is included in the signature. India has not claimed any reservations under Article 6 of the Convention. But other States have claimed certain exceptions and they will be discussed at the further Conference to be opened at Geneva on the 3rd July 1928, in accordance with the provisions of Article 17 of the Convention. This Conference will also determine the conditions required for the coming into force of the Convention, the last date on which the ratifications may be deposited and the date on which the Convention shall come into force. The question of sending a representative from India to attend this Conference and of the attitude to be adopted by him in the discussion on these matters is under consideration.

Lastly, in this connection, mention might be made of the attitude of the Government of India towards the Geneva Hides Conference. Article 3 of the Final Act of the International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions recommended that the countries which apply prohibitions and restrictions on the export of hides, skins and bones should confer together with a view to ascertaining whether all reservations under Article 6 of the Convention which related to these articles could be removed. The Economic Committee of the League of Nations, to whom this matter was referred, came to the conclusion that the majority of the States concerned were prepared to abolish these prohibitions, but recognised that if the prohibitions were to be abolished, two questions connected therewith would have to be dealt with, namely, the export duties now imposed or likely to be substituted for the prohibitions to be abolished, and the claim of certain States that the abolition of the prohibitions should be accompanied by equitable import tariffs on the articles manufactured from these raw products, and recommended that these difficulties should be examined at the meeting contem-

plated by Article 3 of the Final Act of the Convention. The Government of India were invited to send a representative to this meeting but they declined to do so on the grounds that they did not apply any prohibition in India on the export of hides, skins and bones, that they considered it desirable that India should remain free to deal with her tariff as she thought best, and that the discussion of the question of export duties was in conflict with Article 5 of the Final Act. For the same reasons they have declined to be a party to the two Draft Protocols which have been drawn up by the Conference with a view to the conclusion of an agreement providing for the abolition of all export prohibitions and for the immediate or gradual abolition of all export duties on these articles.

Of other events outside India, which affected her trade, one or two of the most important may be mentioned here. In the following pages will be found continual references to the coal strike in Great Britain which had important repercussions on the trade conditions of most countries and exercised a really serious influence on India's overseas trade for 1926-27. The results of the strike are obvious in the large fall in imports into India of iron and steel and other metals, of machinery, and of railway plant and rolling stock, to mention only a few of the more important items. The strike is also partly responsible for a decrease in the exports of certain raw materials from this country, but, in common with other coal producing countries India's exports of coal increased temporarily during the period of the strike and some of the markets then secured have been retained.

In October 1926, after an interval of three years the Imperial Conference again assembled and naturally devoted considerable attention to economic matters. At the previous conference the question of tariff within the Empire was to the fore, but this time problems connected with communications and transport, research and marketing were the most prominent, and the conference stressed the principle that the increase of a country's imports is complementary to an increase in her export trade, and that if trade between the different countries of the Empire is to expand, these must buy from as well as sell to each other. An important development in Inter-Imperial Trade took place in 1926, when on the recommendation of the Imperial Economic Committee—a body responsible to all the governments in the Empire—the Empire

Marketing Board was set up to promote the marketing of Empire produce in the United Kingdom and to advise the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs on the Expenditure of a grant of £1 million a year placed at his disposal by Parliament for that purpose. The work of the Board falls under the three headings of Publicity, Economic Investigation and Scientific Research, and one of the methods by which the Board seeks to achieve its object is by giving financial assistance to scientific research in any part of the Empire wherever such research gives promise of profiting the Empire's agricultural development.

The two important international economic conferences held during 1927, have been mentioned and this part of our discussion of the different factors which influence Indian trade and commerce may be closed by an account of the work of the Indian Trade Publicity Officer in England. In last year's report we said that it had been decided to continue this appointment up to the 31st of March, 1928. The Report on the work done by this officer between 1st April and 30th November 1927, showed that the money spent on publicity work was more than repaid by the results obtained and that in the interests of Indian trade his work should be continued. The appointment of Trade Publicity Officer has accordingly been made permanent with effect from 1st April 1928. The greater part of the publicity work undertaken by this officer during 1927-28, has been in connection with India's participation in Exhibitions and Fairs. These fall into two main classes, namely, those which are organised and conducted entirely at the expense of the Indian Trade Commissioner's office, and those where the Empire Marketing Board provided space and stalls at the Board's expense—all other arrangements being made by the Trade Commissioner. Of fairs in the first class, the most important at which India was represented were the Leipzig International Fair of March 1927, the Milan International Fair, which was held the following month and the Prague International Fair of September 1927. The best results were secured at Leipzig and, indeed, better results were secured there than at any other continental Fair in which India has yet taken part. The Indian stall was always crowded and the visitors were practically all businessmen. Over 300 enquiries were received several of them relating to articles which were not even on show. The enquiries came, in order of importance, from Germany, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Holland,

Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Japan, London, and New York. There were strong indications that propaganda in favour of the tea trade could be successfully launched in Germany, and it is understood that the India Tea Association is taking active steps in this direction. The cost of the stall amounted to £146-16-9*d*. The results of the Exhibition at the Milan Fair were also very satisfactory. The total number of trade enquiries received amounted to two hundred and twenty covering about forty different articles, those in greatest demand being shellac, arts and crafts, woollen carpets and rugs, oilseeds, raw cotton, mica, kapok and cotton prints. As this Fair is usually visited by commercial travellers from Eastern Europe, it was thought that Bombay mill products could be shown there to advantage and the Bombay mills were accordingly invited through the Secretary, Millowner's Association, to send their exhibits. Only one mill responded by sending a dozen samples of yarn. They arrived a few days after the opening of the Fair but they were immediately displayed and four enquiries from Constantinople and other places were received which were communicated to the mill concerned. The Prague International Fair brought a hundred trade enquiries, most of which were from local commercial houses. India was also represented at the International Tobacco Trade Exhibition in April 1927, and at the Railway Employees Exhibition in September of the same year. The latter is organised to show how railways contribute to the growth of International Trade and the Indian stall was designed to show India as a tourist centre and as the supplier of certain table delicacies.

In the second class of Exhibitions and Fairs referred to above, the Empire Marketing Board, in pursuance of their policy of fostering inter-Imperial trade, pay for the space and for the construction of the stalls, but the Indian Trade Commissioner supplies all designs and makes all the arrangements for the collection, transport and installation and supervision of exhibits. These exhibitions make a speciality of food products and particularly cater for retailers and for the general public, thereby creating a demand which is bound, sooner or later, to react on wholesale dealers and manufacturers. Already there has been an appreciable increase in the demand for Indian condiments and food-stuffs not only in England but to a small extent on the continent also. If some enterprising business houses were to follow up the Trade Commis-

sioner's efforts by distributing samples at exhibitions and by undertaking other effective forms of propaganda, there would be every chance of their doing a growing trade in Indian food-stuffs with the United Kingdom. During the year 1927-28, the Indian Trade Commissioner took part in about thirty Exhibitions and Fairs falling within this second class.

In addition to the above activities the Trade Commissioner's office lent photographs and lantern slides to illustrate lectures and did much propaganda by means of pamphlets printed in some of the most important European languages.

We can now turn to the main features of India's trade during the year 1926-27. The balance of trade in merchandise in favour of India fell from the record figure of 161 crores in 1925-26, to 79 crores in the year under review. As might be expected, India's import of the precious metals shrank, a net import of Rs. 39 crores as against the 52 crores of the preceding year being recorded. The net imports of gold amounted to nearly 19½ crores, that is, 15½ crores less than in the preceding year 1925-26, whilst the net imports of silver increased by 3 crores to 20 crores of rupees on account of reduced shipments of the metal to China.

A somewhat striking feature of the year's trade was the amount of raw cotton imported into India. Imports were particularly heavy as a combined result of Indian prices being out of parity with American prices, and an actual shortage, at certain periods, of Indian staple cotton. An important factor was the partial failure of the Punjab-American crop of 1926-27, which was both low in yield and poor in quality. There was also an appreciable falling off in the quality of Hyderabad Gaorani cotton. The total imports during the year amounted to 45,676 tons as compared with 17,543 tons in the previous year. The United States of America supplied the major share of the imports, her consignments increasing from 103 tons in 1925-26, to 25,039 tons in 1926-27.

At the risk of frightening the less stout-hearted reader by an intensive bombardment of figures we present the following summary of the principal features of Indian imports and exports during 1926-27. Imports of cotton piecegoods increased by 224 million yards or 14 per cent. in quantity to 1,788 million yards, while in value the corresponding increase was only of Rs. 51 lakhs or 1 per cent. White goods rose from Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 17¼ crores and coloured goods from nearly Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 17½ crores, while

grey goods, notwithstanding an increase of 39 million yards in quantity, fell in value from Rs. 22 crores to Rs. 19⅔ crores. Imports of cotton twist and yarn valued at Rs. 6⅔ crores against Rs. 7¾ crores in the preceding year. The imports of sugar increased by 15 per cent. in quantity from 805,000 tons to 924,000 tons and by 21 per cent. in value from Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 19 crores. In iron and steel the quantity imported decreased by 4 per cent. from 884,000 tons to 845,000 tons and the value by 7 per cent. from Rs. 18 crores to Rs. 16¾ crores. Machinery and millwork declined from Rs. 15 crores to Rs. 14 crores. The imports of railway plant and rolling-stock on private account receded from Rs. 5 crores to Rs. 3¼ crores. Imports of hardware and motor cars were valued at Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 3 crores respectively, as in the preceding year. Mineral oils fell away from 200 million gallons to 183 million gallons in quantity and from Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 9 crores in value. The value of imported provisions rose from Rs. 4⅔ crores to Rs. 5½ crores. Alizarine and alinine dyes increased in quantity from 10⅓ million lbs. to 15 million lbs. while in value there was an advance by Rs. 27 lakhs to Rs. 1,70 lakhs. A larger quantity of foreign cotton was absorbed during the year, 45,700 tons valued at Rs. 5 crores against 17,500 tons valued at Rs. 3⅔ crores in the preceding year. Imports of liquors and paper were valued at Rs. 3,53 lakhs and Rs. 2,78 lakhs, showing increases of Rs. 19 lakhs and Rs. 26 lakhs respectively over imports in the preceding year.

On the export side the total value of raw cotton and cotton manufactures exported fell from Rs. 105 crores to Rs. 70 crores. Raw cotton declined by 24 per cent. in quantity from 745,000 tons to 569,000 tons and by 38 per cent. in value from Rs. 95 crores to Rs. 58⅔ crores. Raw jute increased in quantity by 9 per cent. from 647,000 tons to 708,000 tons, but, as the previous year's high range of prices was not maintained, decreased in value by 29 per cent. from 38 crores to Rs. 26¾ crores. Exports of gunny bags and gunny cloth also increased in quantity, while the value realised fell. The total value of raw jute and jute manufactures shipped fell from Rs. 97 crores to Rs. 80 crores. Exports of foodgrains fell from 3,063,000 tons to 2,429,000 tons in quantity and from Rs. 48 crores to Rs. 39 crores in value. Shipments of rice fell from 2,549,000 tons valued at Rs. 39¾ crores to 2,035,000 tons valued at nearly Rs. 33 crores and of wheat from 212,000 tons

valued at Rs. 3⅔ crores to 176,000 tons valued at Rs. 2¾ crores. Exports of barley and pulse also decreased. Tea showed an improvement, shipments increasing in quantity by 23 million lbs. and in value by Rs. 2 crores to 349 million lbs. valued at Rs. 29 crores. The total quantity of oilseeds exported again decreased by 412,000 tons to 838,000 tons while the value of the shipments fell by Rs. 10½ crores to Rs. 19 crores.

We may now turn to a more detailed survey of the course of imports and exports during the year 1926-27. As usual, on the import side cotton manufactures were by far the most important item, accounting in fact for not far short of one-third of the total value of imports into this country. The actual proportion of cotton imports to total imports was 30·3 per cent. In last year's report we laid stress on the disappointing character of the cotton import trade during the year 1925-26, and it is satisfactory to be able to report that imports under this head showed advances over the previous year's figures in all the principal items except cotton twist and yarn, but the brisk revival of trade which had been anticipated after the early months of 1926, did not attain the hoped-for dimensions. During the first three-quarters of the year there was a general tendency to buy for immediate requirements only, an attitude which was justified by the falling market in raw cotton. With prices continually falling it was difficult to dispose of stocks, and in Calcutta the accumulation of holdings was increased by large buyings during the last quarter of 1925, and by the serious and prolonged communal riots which prevented the clearance of stocks to up-country centres. However, the import trade became more buoyant towards the latter part of 1926 and a fair volume of orders was placed with the Lancashire mills during January and February 1927. The end of the coal strike in England removed a handicap on business, and the lower prices quoted brought Lancashire goods more within the range of the Indian purchaser. Also, short-time working in the sections spinning American cotton in Lancashire was formally abandoned in December 1926, and this was followed by the abolition of the scheme of minimum basic selling prices for standard counts of American yarn which had been in force for a few months. These events helped to bring about greater confidence in prices and a further contribution to the revival of business was made by the stronger tendency in the cotton market.

DIAGRAM.

The Foreign Sea-borne Trade of British India. (*b*) During the 60 years (1864-69 to 1919-24). Quinquennial averages.

(Private and Government.)

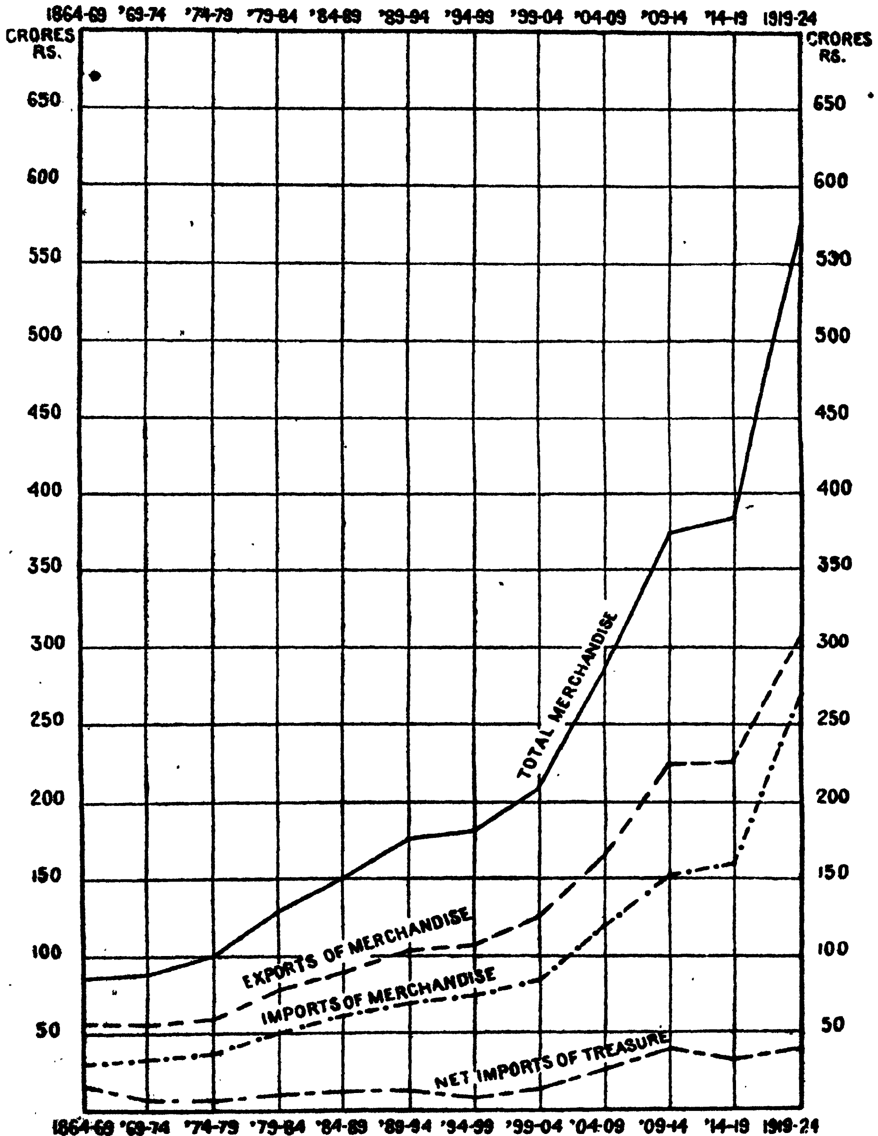
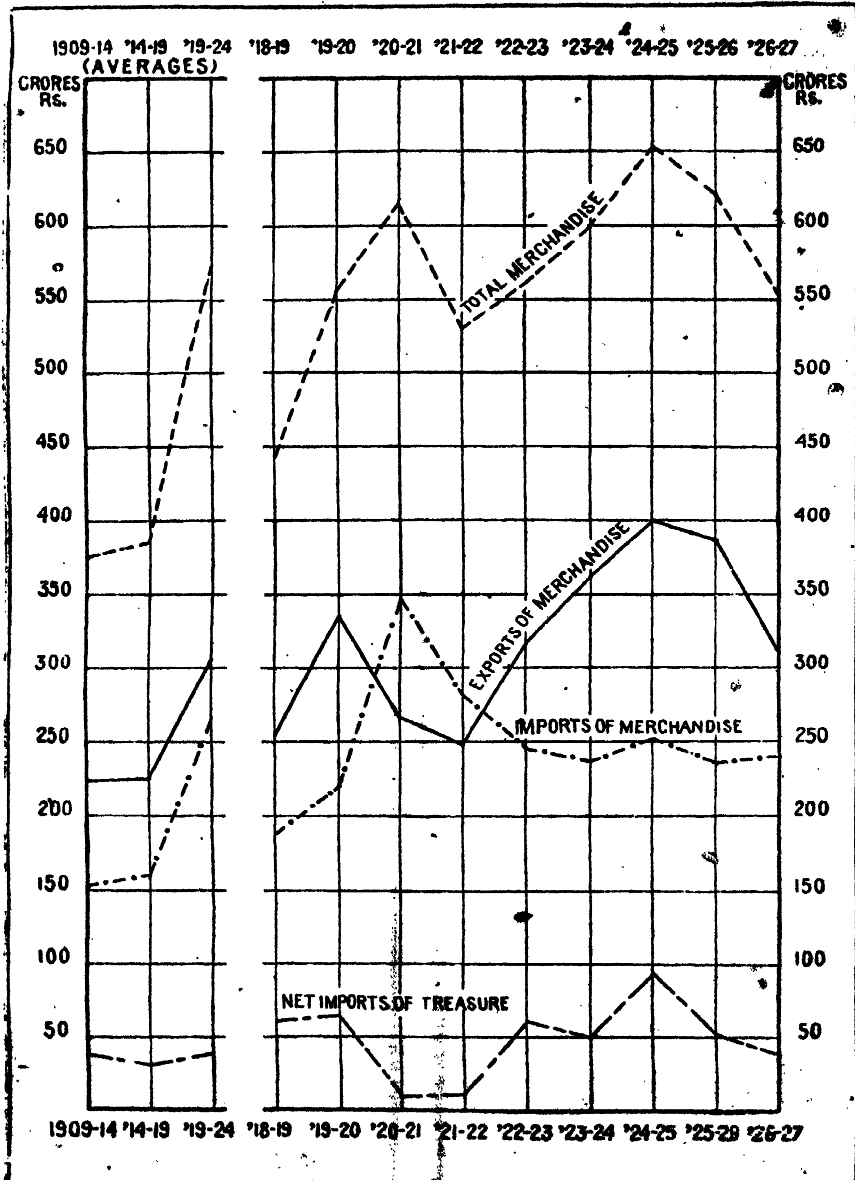


DIAGRAM.

The Foreign Sea-borne Trade of British India. (a) During the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.

(Private and Government.)



Imports of cotton twist and yarn fell again in the year under review both in value and quantity. The total quantity imported amounted to only 49 million pounds valued at 6,62 lakhs of rupees as compared with 52 million pounds worth 7,77 lakhs in the preceding year. The fall in imports was mostly at the expense of Japan which supplies only 26½ million pounds of yarn—that is, 7 million pounds less than she had supplied during the previous year. A striking feature of the imports, however, was the recovery of the United Kingdom from nearly 16 million pounds to over 20 million pounds. This figure is still only about half of her normal exports to India in pre-war years.

The following figures which show India's demand for foreign yarns and the production of yarn in Indian mills over a series of years is interesting as showing first the greatly increased consumption of yarns in this country during the last 20 years and also the vast proportion of the supply consumed which is produced by Indian mills.

	Imports.	Indian mill production.
	lbs. (1,000).	lbs. (1,000)
Annual average—		
Five years ending 1908-09 .	38,573	641,776
Five years ending 1913-14 (pre-war)	41,794	646,757
Five years ending 1918-19 (war period)	34,063	666,227
Five years ending 1923-24 .	44,681	662,512
Year 1913-14 (pre-war) .	44,171	682,777
,, 1914-15	42,864	651,985
,, 1915-16	40,427	722,425
,, 1916-17	29,530	681,107
,, 1917-18	19,400	660,576
,, 1918-19	38,095	615,041
,, 1919-20	15,097	635,760
,, 1920-21	47,333	660,003
,, 1921-22	57,125	693,572
,, 1922-23	59,274	705,894
,, 1923-24	44,575	617,329
,, 1924-25	55,907	719,390
,, 1925-26	51,688	686,427
,, 1926-27	49,425	807,116

It will be noticed from these figures that the production of yarn in Indian mills during the year 1926-27, was a record while the imports, which had receded to 49·4 million pounds during that year, showed a fall of 4 per cent. as compared with the year before and of 12 per cent. as compared with 1924-25. The largest decrease in imports was in the lower counts 1 to 20 which fell away to a little over a million pounds from 4¾ million pounds imported during the year 1925-26. At the same time the production of the same counts in Indian mills showed a substantial increase of 71 million pounds in 1926-27. These low-grade yarns are largely imported from Japan and during the last two years consignments from that country have shown a marked decline and have receded from 6 million pounds in 1924-25 to 4 million pounds in the next year and only 202,000 pounds in the year under review. Of the grey and coloured yarns of counts 31 to 40 imports declined by 1·89 million pounds but the share of the United Kingdom in grey yarns rose from 1½ million pounds in 1925-26 to nearly 4 million pounds in 1926-27. Japan's consignments of grey yarns Nos. 31 to 40, of which she is now the chief supplier, fell to 16 million pounds as against 20 million pounds in the preceding year. Indian production of these yarns increased notably during the year from 19¾ to 27⅗ million pounds. In the higher counts above 40, both import and production showed increases, the former of 13 per cent. and the latter of 98 per cent. Of the imports the United Kingdom accounted for nearly 6·6 million pounds as against 5 million pounds in the previous year whilst Japan accounted for ·9 million pounds as against 1·6 million pounds in 1925-26. The United Kingdom supplied the major share of white bleached yarns imported, her consignments amounting to 3·2 million lbs. out of a total import of 4 million pounds. The United Kingdom's share in the total trade in cotton twist and yarn rose from 31 per cent. in 1925-26 to 41 per cent. in the year under review, whilst Japan's share fell back from 65 to 54 per cent. The average declared value per pound of grey yarns Nos. 31 to 40 imported from Japan was 15 annas, 11 pies, while the United Kingdom yarns grey and coloured of similar grades were valued at Re. 1, 8 pies, and Re. 1, annas 6 and pie 1, per pound respectively. Imports from Continental countries consist largely of coloured yarn and of the exporting countries the share of the Netherlands increased slightly whilst imports from Switzerland and Italy declined.

The total imports of piecegoods including fents during 1926-27 showed an increase in quantity of 224 million yards or 14 per cent. over the previous year but the corresponding increase in value was only 51 lakhs or 1 per cent. White goods contributed most to the increase, the imports rising by 106 million yards, whilst coloured goods showed an increase of 82 million yards and grey goods of 39 million yards. As compared with the prices which have ruled for these 3 descriptions of piecegoods since the War, prices during the year under review showed a marked decrease. As usual the United Kingdom provided the major share of the imports of grey goods which increased from 561 million yards in 1925-26 to 589 million yards in the year under review—that is, a rise of 5 per cent.

The quantity imported in 1926-27 was, however, below that of 1924-25 by 21 per cent. Imports from Japan, on the other hand, have been showing continuous increases. Her supplies in 1925-26 were in quantity 30 per cent. more than that of the previous year, while in 1926-27, an increase of 8 per cent. over 1925-26 was recorded. The actual quantities supplied during the three years ending 1926-27, were 110, 143 and 155 million yards valued at Rs. 4,08, Rs. 4,61 and Rs. 4,23 lakhs respectively. The imports from the United States of America during the year increased by 9 per cent. in quantity from 2,460,000 to 2,690,000 yards. In white piecegoods the United Kingdom still retains almost a monopoly and her shipments during the year rose from 446 million yards valued at Rs. 15 crores to 550 million yards valued at over Rs. 16½ crores. Her share in the total imports of white goods into India was 96 per cent. both in 1925-26, and in the year under review. Imports from Japan declined from 4,675,000 yards to 2,882,000 yards. Switzerland increased her supply from 5,800,000 to 8,600,000 yards, but the arrivals from the Netherlands showed a small decline as compared with the previous year.

In the coloured section the United Kingdom's figure for 1926-27 was 318 million yards, an increase of 19 per cent. on 1925-26, but a decrease of 6 per cent. on 1924-25. Continental countries show an increasing activity in this section of the trade. Japan also has considerably increased her share. In 1926-27, Japan and the Netherlands more than doubled their respective shares as compared with 1924-25, the imports during the year being 86 million and 14 million yards respectively as against 41 million and

6 million yards respectively in 1924-25, and 69½ million and 10 million yards, respectively in 1925-26. Germany increased her share from nearly 2 million to more than 3 million yards, and Switzerland from 1½ to more than 3 million yards. There was a striking increase in the imports from Italy which from nearly 10 million yards in the previous year rose to 15½ million yards in 1926-27. Belgium also showed a large increase though her share in the trade is comparatively small. The following table shows the percentage shares of the United Kingdom and Japan in the total imports of piecegoods in 1913-14, and in each of the past four years:—

Percentage share of the United Kingdom and Japan in the imports of Cotton Piecegoods.

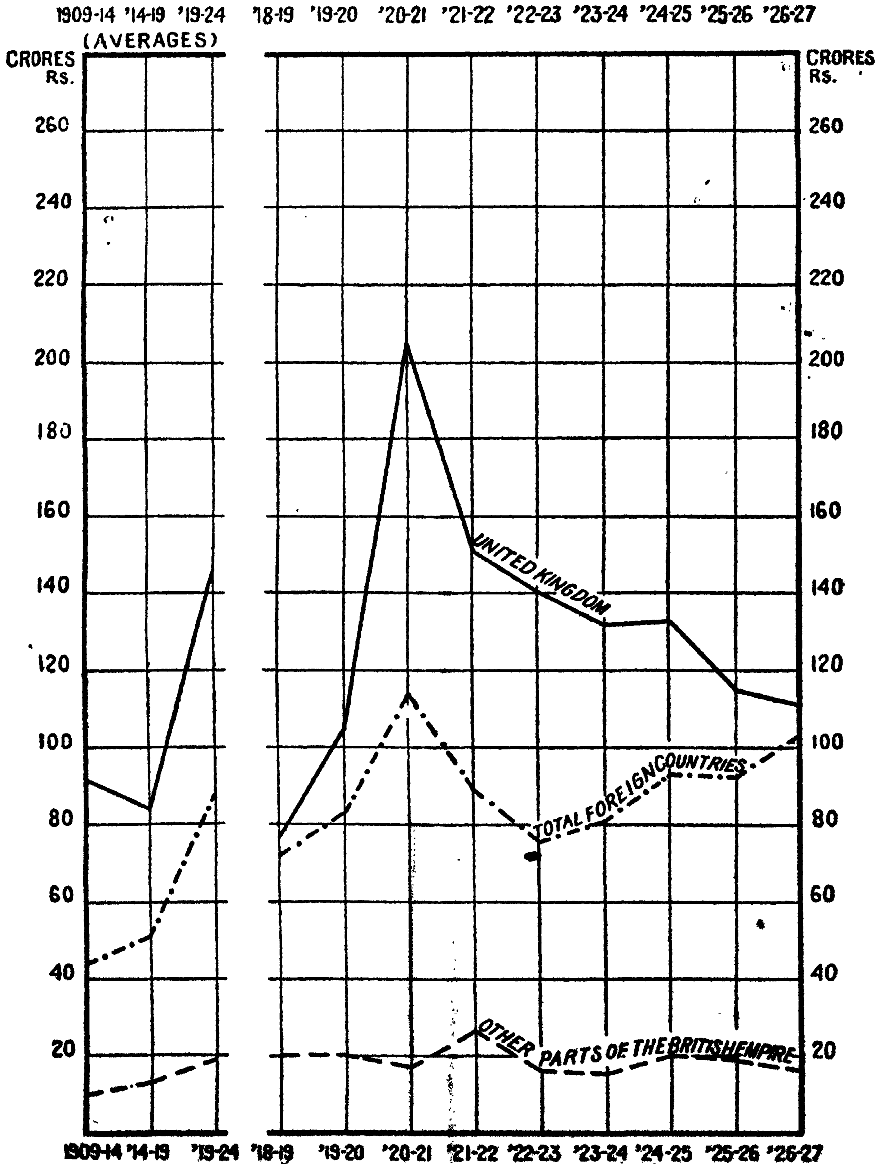
—	1913-14.		1923-24.		1924-25.		1925-26.		1926-27.	
	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.
Cotton piecegoods—										
Grey . . .	98·8	·5	85·2	13·7	86·0	13·0	79·2	20·1	78·7	20·7
White . . .	98·5	—	97·0	6	97·1	·8	98·0	1·0	96·4	·5
Coloured . .	92·6	·2	87·4	6·7	83·1	10·0	73·1	19·0	71·1	19·2

While the United Kingdom has maintained her position in the trade in white goods, she has given ground slightly in the case of grey and coloured goods.

DIAGRAM.

Variations in the Trade of British India with Principal Countries during the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.

(i) – IMPORTS



The distribution of the total import trade in piecegoods among the principal countries concerned is shown below:—

Percentage shares in the total quantities of Piecegoods imported.

—	1913-14.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.
United Kingdom	97·1	85·6	87·6	91·2	88·8	88·5	82·8	82·0
Japan	·3	11·3	8 3	6·8	8·2	8·5	13·9	13·6
United States	·3	·9	2·1	·5	·5	·5	1·0	·9
Netherlands	·8	·9	1·1	·8	·7	·6	1·1	1·1
Other countries	1·5	1·3	9	·7	1·8	1·9	1 7	2·4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Bengal heads the list each year in the distribution in India of the total quantity of piecegoods imported. Bombay comes second, but she has shown a steady decline in her share during the last three years. Burma has, on the other hand, made steady progress.

The second most valuable item in India's imports during the year under review consisted of metals and manufactures of metals. Imports under this head decreased by 4 per cent. in quantity, from 945,000 tons to 909,000 tons, and by 6 per cent. in value, from Rs. 25⅓ crores to slightly under Rs. 24 crores. Of this total, iron and steel imports amounted to Rs. 16¾ crores as compared with Rs. 18 crores during the previous year, 1925-26, and fell from the second place in order of importance to the third place. If to metals and their manufactures were added machinery and mill work, railway plant and rolling stock, cutlery, hardware, implements and instruments, and motor vehicles, a group of imports is formed with a total value of Rs. 56 crores, which is Rs. 23 crores less than the value of the imports of yarn and textile fabrics—the first important group among imports. In 1925-26 the metals group accounted for Rs. 60 crores and textiles for Rs. 77 crores.

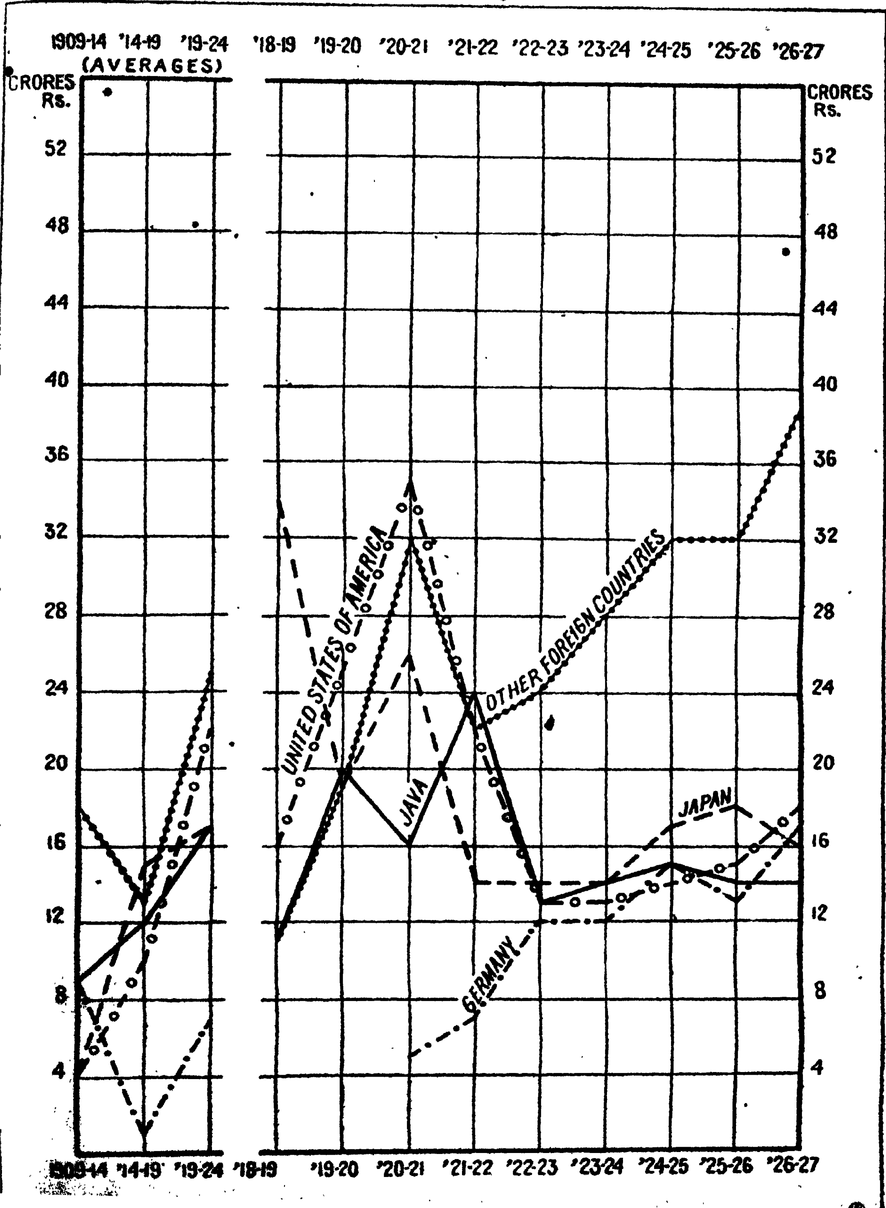
Indian trade returns under this head were appreciably affected by the coal strike in Great Britain which virtually paralysed the latter's iron and steel industry, throughout the period of the strike supplies from the United Kingdom were restricted, a larger proportion than usual of the Indian import trade having gone to Germany and Belgium.

Manufactured iron and steel imported in the year under review, excluding pig iron and old iron or steel, decreased by 5 per cent. in quantity from 879,000 tons to 838,000 tons, and by 7 per cent. in value from Rs. 1,803 lakhs to Rs. 1,670 lakhs. Galvanised sheets which accounted for about 43 per cent. of the total value of manufactured iron and steel, fell by 8,000 tons to 275,000 tons. As usual, imports of this commodity came mostly from the United Kingdom, which supplied 249,000 tons. The coal stoppage was felt least in the manufacture of galvanised sheets, as these could be manufactured from imported semi-finished material. The share of the United States improved from Rs. 31 lakhs to Rs. 40 lakhs; and of other countries, Belgium supplied over Rs. 24 lakhs and Germany Rs. 6⅔ lakhs. Imports of tin-plates fell from 29,700 tons to 22,200 tons, a decrease attributable to some extent to increased production in India, which was estimated at 35,000 tons in 1926 as compared with 30,000 tons in 1925, and 9,000 tons in 1923. Imports both from the United Kingdom and the United States fell, the former country, in fact, reducing the amount of her imports by one-third. Imports of steel bars, other than cast steel, rose from 126,000 to 151,000 tons, the rise being shared mostly by Belgium, Germany and Luxemburg. The share of the United Kingdom in this trade fell from 14,000 tons to 8,000 tons. In beams, pillars, girders and bridge-work, there was a heavy reduction, from 98,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,22 lakhs to 72,000 tons valued at Rs. 89 lakhs. India's principal sources of supply of these goods are the United Kingdom and Belgium, and the imports from both these countries fell sharply. Rails, chairs and fish-plates, including those for railways, decreased from 34,000 tons in 1925-26, valued at Rs. 40⅔ lakhs, to 23,000 tons valued at Rs. 25½ lakhs during the year under review, the fall being chiefly due to reduced importations from the United Kingdom whose supplies dropped from Rs. 28⅓ lakhs to a mere Rs. 8⅔ lakhs.

Imports of pig iron into India are now almost negligible, and during the year under review they declined from 2,895 tons,

DIAGRAM.

Variations in the Trade of British India with Principal Countries during the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.



valued at Rs. 3¼ lakhs, to 1,627 tons valued at Rs. 2$_{3}$ lakhs. Of this amount, the United Kingdom supplied 999 tons and Belgium 50 tons. In India there has been an increase in the production of pig iron from 875,000 tons in 1925-26 to 957,000 tons in 1926-27. On the whole, the most notable feature of the trade in iron and steel (including pig and old iron) during the year under review was the high proportion of imports from the Continent, Belgium supplying 257,000 tons or 30·4 per cent., and Germany 79,000 tons or 9·3 per cent., as compared with 229,000 tons (25·9 per cent.) and 69,000 tons (7·8 per cent.) respectively in 1925-26. The share of the United States also improved from 23,000 tons or 2·6 per cent. to 29,000 tons or 3·4 per cent. Imports from the United Kingdom fell from 489,000 tons to 406,000 tons, which was only 67 per cent. of the pre-war figure, and her share dropped from 55·3 per cent. in 1925-26 to 48·1 per cent in 1926-27.

Imports of metals, other than iron and steel and their manufactures, increased in quantity from 62,000 tons to 64,000 tons, but decreased in value from Rs. 7,28 lakhs to Rs. 7,06 lakhs. Imports of aluminium, brass, and zinc or spelter all increased whilst those of copper and lead decreased.

Third in order of value in India's imports comes sugar. Estimates of the world's production of sugar in 1926-27 show a reduction as compared with the two previous years. The problem before the sugar producers now-a-days is to find a market at remunerative rates for the steadily increasing output. The total production for 1926-27 is estimated at 23,309,000 tons, that is, over a million tons less than the production of the preceding year. Imports of sugar of all sorts, excluding molasses and confectionery, into British India showed a still further increase in the year under review and amounted to 826,900 tons—a rise of 13 per cent. over the preceding year and 23 per cent. as compared with 1924-25. A feature of the year's imports was the increase in the takings of beet sugar, partly at the expense of Java sugar, this no doubt being attributable to the firmness of the Java market as a result of a poor out-turn in 1926-27. There was a notable expansion in the imports from the United States, which rose from 1,900 tons in 1925-26 to 11,622 tons in the year under review. Imports from the Netherlands, Belgium and France also showed increases and omission should not be made of the fact that Canada entered the market during the year and sent 4,650 tons, valued at Rs. 11

lakhs. There were hardly any imports of sugar into India from Mauritius, because the preference enjoyed by Empire sugar in the United Kingdom has diverted the Mauritius crop thither. In beet sugar, importations from all the European countries showed increases, Germany taking the lead with 47,948 tons, followed by Czechoslovakia with 28,802 tons and Hungary with 25,368 tons, the previous year's figures being 1,373 tons, 10,200 tons and 19,000 tons respectively.

Machinery and millwork imports come fourth on the list this year. Last year this item was third, but imports during the year under review did not fall as far as might have been expected in view of the coal stoppage in the United Kingdom, for the engineering industries there were able to work on previous stocks or on imported material. Naturally the prosperity of the trade in machinery depends on the favourable conditions of other industries, and it is interesting to observe that the important branches which have reported increases in imports are electrical machinery, oil crushing and refining machinery, rice, flour mill and paper mill machinery, whilst cotton and jute mill machinery, prime movers, boilers, mining machinery and sugar machinery all record decreases.

The value of textile machinery imported showed a further decrease this year from Rs. 3,29 lakhs to 2,51½ lakhs of which the United Kingdom supplied Rs. 2,40 lakhs. Cotton machinery and jute manufacturing machinery fell by Rs. 64½ lakhs and nearly Rs. 17 lakhs respectively, but wool manufacturing machinery which had reached the low level of Rs. 2 lakhs in 1925-26 improved to Rs. 4 lakhs during the year under review. Imports of electrical machinery increased from Rs. 2,22⅓ lakhs to Rs. 2,29⅓ lakhs, the most noticeable increases being recorded in imports of transformers and generating plant. The United Kingdom has the lion's share of this part of India's trade and supplied electrical machinery to the value of Rs. 1,86 lakhs, whilst the United States, the next supplier in order of importance, sent machinery to the value of Rs. 23 lakhs. Prime movers other than electrical decreased by Rs. 14 lakhs to Rs. 1,98 lakhs.

Mineral oils formed the fifth in order of importance in the items of India's import trade. During the year under review, the total imports of all kinds of mineral oils from foreign countries in 1926-27 fell from 200 million gallons to 184 million gallons.

Of this amount about 35 per cent. consisted of kerosene oil, 49 per cent. of fuel oil, and 13 per cent. of lubricating oils. Over 64 million gallons of kerosene were imported in 1926-27 as compared with 79 million gallons in the previous year. Imports from the United States represented 87 per cent. of the total quantity of kerosene imported, this being a little below the level of the previous year. Imports from Borneo, Sumatra, the Straits Settlements and Persia all declined whilst the coastwise imports of kerosene oil from Burma amounted to 130 million gallons as compared with 128 million gallons in 1925-26.

The growing use of fuel oil in the Railways and Steamships, and also in the industrial plant of India, kept the demand for fuel oil fairly strong, and imports amounted in 1926-27 to 90½ million gallons valued at Rs. 1,96 lakhs as compared with the record figure of 93½ million gallons valued at Rs. 2,11½ lakhs in the previous year. It should, however, be remembered that the figure for 1925-26 included importations by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway up to the end of June 1925, after which on the Railway being taken over by the Government the imports were classified under Government stores. Imports from Persia decreased by nearly 6 million gallons, whilst Borneo and the Straits Settlements together supplied 24 million gallons as against 21½ million gallons in 1925-26.

Imports of foreign motor spirit into India are insignificant and were only 3,800 gallons in 1926-27. India's requirements of petrol are thus met entirely from her own oilfields in Burma and other parts of India.

The increase in the imports of motor vehicles noticed in the preceding issue of this review was well maintained during the year under report. Lower prices stimulated the growing motor car habit and the further extension of motor transport in India. With the improvement of the financial position of the Government of India it has been found possible to reduce the rate of duty on motor cars from 30 per cent. *ad valorem* to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, and on pneumatic tyres and tubes to 15 per cent. *ad valorem* with effect from 1st March 1927. The absence of a net work of good roads and the limitations on the loads allowed on bridges are two important factors which still operate against the more rapid development of motor transport in India. The number of motor cars imported rose by 3 per cent. from 12,757 in 1925-26 to 13,197 in

1926-27 and their value by 4 per cent. from Rs. 2,82 lakhs to Rs. 2,94 lakhs. The British light car is steadily growing in popularity and advancing its position in the market, although Canada and the United States of America still maintain their predominant place in this trade. The average declared value of cars imported from the United Kingdom during 1926-27 was Rs. 3,159 as compared with Rs. 2,208 for the American and Rs. 1,568 for the Canadian car. The corresponding figures for the preceding year were Rs. 3,239 for British, Rs. 2,185 for American and Rs. 1,518 for a Canadian car. Cars imported from the United Kingdom rose from 2,399 to 2,546 in number and in value from Rs. 77¾ lakhs to Rs. 80½ lakhs. The imports of Canadian cars, on the other hand, decreased from 4,775 valued at Rs. 72½ lakhs to 4,476 valued at Rs. 70 lakhs and those of American cars fell from 4,143 valued at Rs. 90½ lakhs to 4,030 valued at Rs. 89 lakhs. There were increased supplies from Italy and France.

Of the total imports Canada supplied 34 per cent., the United States 30 per cent., the United Kingdom 19 per cent., and Italy 11 per cent., as compared with 37, 32, 19 and 7 per cent. respectively in the preceding year. Bengal had 32 per cent. of the trade, Bombay 27 per cent., Sind and Madras 14 per cent. each and Burma 13 per cent.

The imports of motor cycles increased by 11 per cent. in number from 1,629 in 1925-26 to 1,803 in 1926-27 and by 6 per cent. in value from Rs. 9,86,000 to Rs. 10,47,000. The efforts made by British manufacturers in recent years to reduce prices resulted in an increase in the imports from the United Kingdom. Arrivals from that country, which numbered 1,201 or 82 per cent. of the total in 1924-25, rose to 1,458 or 89 per cent. in 1925-26 and to 1,665 or 92 per cent. in the year under review, while the supplies from the United States steadily declined from 180 in 1924-25 to 113 in 1925-26 and to 75 in 1926-27. France supplied 19 and Germany 8 motor cycles as compared with 18 and 6 respectively in the preceding year.

In view of the growing use of motor buses for passenger traffic there has been a rapid increase in the importation of motor omnibuses, vans and lorries. The import figures are 6,343 valued at Rs. 1,20 lakhs as against 4,840 valued at Rs. 88 lakhs in the preceding year and 2,162 valued at Rs. 39 lakhs in 1924-25. Of these the number of chassis imported was 5,345 valued at Rs. 96 lakhs

as compared with 4,214 valued at Rs. 73 lakhs in 1925-26. This indicates that there is already growing up in many parts of India a new industry—that of motor body-building. Many of these chassis imported for use as passenger buses have locally built bodies added to them. Canada and the United States are, as usual, the two principal sources of supply, while the high cost of the British chassis militates against its increased use by small firms who are attracted by the low prices of Canadian and American makes.

The imports of motor omnibuses, vans and lorries from Canada rose from 2,378 to 3,529 in number and from Rs. 30 lakhs to Rs. 48 lakhs in value. The supplies from the United States also increased from 2,014 valued at Rs. 41 lakhs to 2,322 valued at Rs. 49 lakhs. The United Kingdom only sent 341 vehicles valued at Rs. 19 lakhs as compared with 338 valued at Rs. 14 lakhs in the preceding year.

For several months in the past year the prices of crude rubber were abnormally low in the markets abroad compared with the high prices prevailing in 1925 and as a result there was a substantial fall in the prices of rubber manufactures. Compared with 1925-26, the imports of every description of pneumatic motor tyres and tubes during 1926-27 increased in quantity, chiefly owing to the growing use of motor vehicles in India, but with lower prices showed a decrease in value.

It is very interesting to study the progress of the new and rapidly growing trade in artificial silk, the market for which continues to expand steadily in India as will be seen from the following import figures from the year 1922-23 onwards—

	lbs. (000).	Rs. (000).
1922-23	225	13,40
1923-24	406	19,55
1924-25	1,171	42,40
1925-26	2,671	74,72
1926-27	5,776	1,02,64

It will be seen that from 1924-25 the rate of increase in the imports has been very rapid. As compared with the previous year imports of artificial silk yarn during 1926-27 showed a remarkable rise of 116 per cent. in quantity and 37 per cent. in value. Italy forged ahead of her competitors and supplied 3,843,179 lbs. during the year under review against 392,688 lbs. in 1924-25, and 1,309,257 lbs. in 1925-26. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, lost ground slightly, her consignments falling from 761,000

lbs. to 655,000 lbs. Imports from the Netherlands more than doubled and amounted to 358,000 lbs. as against 130,000 lbs. in the previous year but Belgian supplies declined from 120,000 lbs. to 58,000 lbs. German supplies also increased by 48 per cent. from 157,000 lbs. imported in 1925-26 to 232,000 lbs. in 1926-27. There was a general drop in the prices of artificial silk yarn, the average declared value per lb. falling from Rs. 2-12-9 to Rs. 1-12-5. Of the imports Italy accounted for 67 per cent., the value of her trade increasing by 90 per cent., from Rs. 34 lakhs to Rs. 64 lakhs, and the United Kingdom for 11 per cent., the value of her consignments falling by 41 per cent. from Rs. 24 lakhs to Rs. 14 lakhs. The shares of these two countries in the total trade of India in this article were 49 per cent. and 28 per cent. respectively in 1925-26. In imports of piecegoods of cotton and artificial silk also there was a substantial rise, the consignments increasing from 15 million yards to nearly 42 million yards. In this line the United Kingdom made considerable headway, her supplies rising to 16 million yards from 6½ million yards in the previous year. Italy came next with nearly 14 million yards, a rise of 179 per cent. on the previous year. Switzerland's share increased from 2,317,000 yards to 6,698,000 yards and that of Germany and Belgium from 554,000 yards and 319,000 yards to 2,487,000 yards and 980,000 yards respectively. The United Kingdom had 38 per cent. of the trade as against 42 per cent. in the previous year and Italy 33 per cent. as against 32 per cent. in 1925-26. The total value of the imports of piecegoods of cotton and artificial silk was Rs. 3,09 lakhs of which the United Kingdom accounted for Rs. 1,17 lakhs. Italy for nearly Rs. 81 lakhs and Switzerland for nearly Rs. 59 lakhs.

The imports of raw wool remained stationary at the previous year's level of nearly 5 million lbs. The United Kingdom increased her share of the trade by nearly 300,000 lbs. Imports from Persia fell slightly by ½ million lbs. and Australia's supply also declined. A further expansion of the import trade in woollen piecegoods took place and the total consignments amounted to nearly 15¼ million yards valued at Rs. 2,77 lakhs as compared with 14¼ million yards valued at Rs. 2,92 lakhs in the preceding year, that is, a rise of 6 per cent. in quantity but a fall of 5 per cent. in value owing to the drop in prices. Imports from the United Kingdom amounted to nearly 6 million yards valued at

Rs. 1,42¼ lakhs as compared with 5·3 million yards valued at Rs. 1,50 lakhs in the preceding year. Germany, France and Italy participated to a greater extent in the trade, their shares rising from 978,000 yards, 1·9 million yards and 2·8 million yards to 1·4 million yards, 2·2 million yards and 3·6 million yards respectively. Japan which had sent 2 million yards in 1925-26 reduced her consignments to 1·2 million yards.

The share of the United Kingdom in the imports of railway plant and rolling stock into India both in private and Government account dropped sharply from 79·9 per cent. to 61·1 per cent., whilst the shares of all other principal countries showed a steady advance. Germany continues to overhaul the United Kingdom in the matter of imports of hardware, the share of the latter falling to Rs. 1,84½ lakhs and that of the former rising to Rs. 1,58⅓ lakhs.

The import trade in dyes both alizarine and aniline is largely monopolised by Germany, but the competition of the United States is making itself increasingly felt in the aniline dye trade. During the year under review imports of German alizarine dyes amounted to 4,145,000 lbs. as against 742,000 lbs. from the United Kingdom, and the imports of German aniline dyes rose to over 6 million lbs. whilst those of the United Kingdom fell to well under a half a million lbs. From the United States almost 2 million lbs. of aniline dyes were shipped to India during the year under review.



Turning now to the export trade of India in the year under review, we notice that jute and cotton and their manufactures, grains, and tea account for over 72 per cent. of the total value of exports. Jute and jute manufactures account for over 26 per cent. of the total, and cotton and cotton manufactures for a little over 23 per cent. The first place in the export trade for 1926-27 falls, therefore, to jute, the market in which was free from the wild fluctuations which characterised it in the preceding year. In 1924 and 1925 the problem which faced the jute market was how to deal with rises in prices, but during the year under review, on account of an appreciable increase in the jute crop, the quotations for jute fell steadily between April and August 1926. Also during the year the jute industry suffered from the effects of the inflated

prices which ruled during 1925-26, and during the first half of the year many mills found it difficult to work off their stocks of high-priced jute because the prices of the manufactured product were determined more by the bumper crop of 1926 than by the actual prices paid for raw jute in hand. The latter half of the year, however, was easier. The agreement to work the short time of 54 hours per week reached in 1921 was observed by the mills for the sixth year in succession, and as a further safeguard against over-production the time lost by holidays was not made up. This meant approximately a three per cent. reduction in output. The number of looms at work on 1st January 1927 was 49,491 against 49,000 on the corresponding date of 1926.

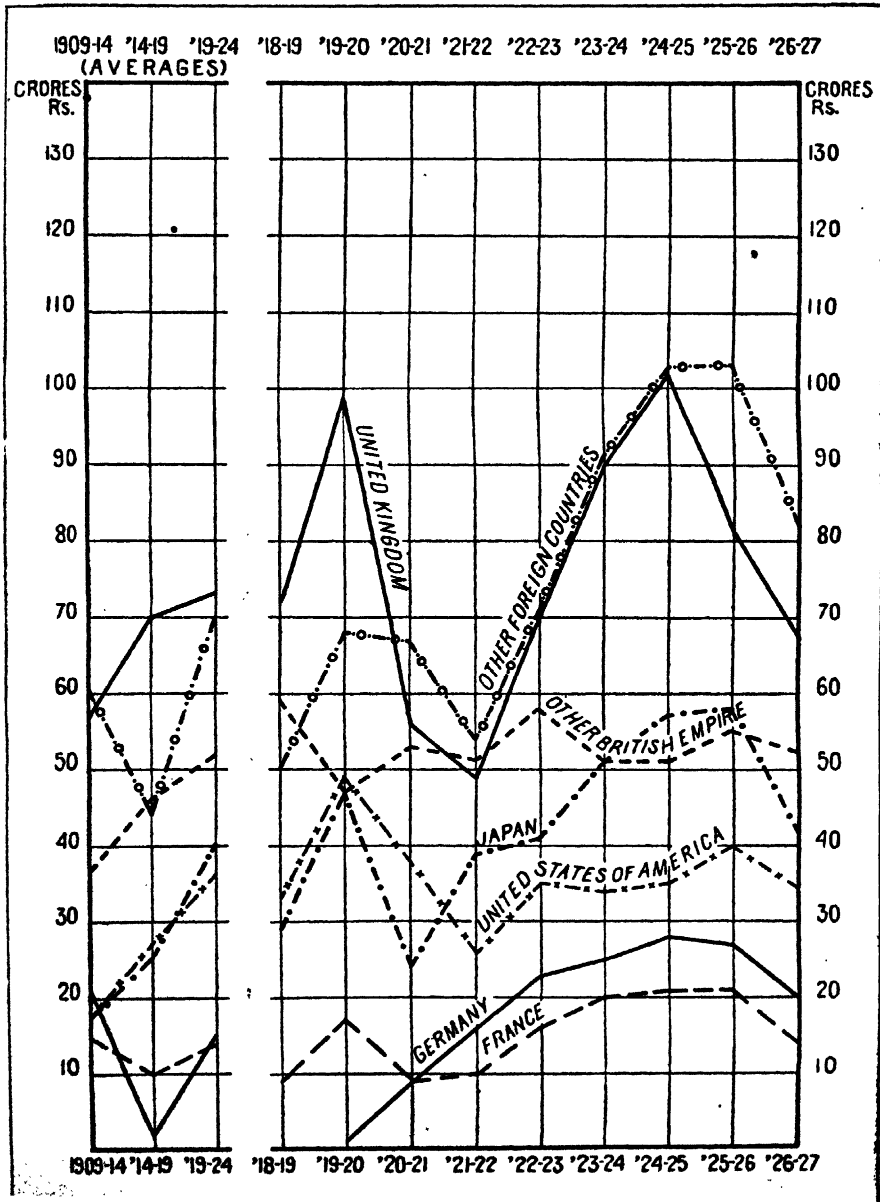
The total weight of raw and manufactured jute exported increased from 1,458,000 tons to 1,568,000 tons, but the value of the exports fell from 97 crores to 80 crores on account of the lower prices. Of the total value of the exports, raw jute accounted for 33 per cent. and jute manufactures for 67 per cent, as compared with 39 and 61 per cent. respectively in 1925-26. The quantity of raw jute exported was 8 per cent. less than that of the pre-war year 1913-14. The exports of bags increased in number from 425 millions to 449 millions and of gunny cloth from 1,461 million yards to 1,503 million yards.

Of 3,964,000 bales of raw jute exported during the year, the United Kingdom took 968,000 bales as compared with 977,000 bales in the previous year, a decline of one per cent. It is to be noted, however, that the jute industry in Great Britain was suffering from the effects of the coal strike and of high jute prices during the first six months of the year under review, and in that time she imported only 95,000 bales. Germany regained the lead which she lost in the previous year and took 1,025,000 bales as against 810,000 bales in the preceding year. Belgium, France, Spain and the United States of America improved, and Italy and the Netherlands reduced their demands. The United States of America, Germany and the rest of Europe have more than regained the pre-war level, while the takings of the United Kingdom were far below her pre-war standard of consumption.

We have seen that the total exports of gunny bags increased by 24 millions during the year. The best market for this commodity was Australia, which took nearly 86 million bags. Of the exports of gunny cloth the United States of America absorbed 65

DIAGRAM.

(b) Variations in the Trade of British India with principal countries during the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.



per cent., her takings amounting to 975 million yards. The Argentine Republic came next with 318 million yards or 98 millions more than in the preceding year. Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand all took less, but Germany, France and Italy increased their takings.

A short and late Indian crop accompanied by a record American crop following the two large crops of 1925 and 1924 affected the exports of raw cotton from India, which fell in quantity by 24 per cent. and in value by 38 per cent. The Indian cotton crop of 1926-27 has been estimated at 4,973,000 bales of 400 lbs. each as compared with 6,250,000 bales in 1925-26 and 6,088,000 bales in 1924-25. The American crop of 1926 was estimated to exceed that of 1925 by over 2½ million bales, of 400 lbs. each. In view of the above conditions, prices fluctuated considerably in India, while they were still further affected by the unusual circumstances of the season. The supply of Indian staple cotton was poor until the Broach and other late-maturing crops came into the market at the end of the period under review. However, towards the close of the year Indian prices came nearer to parity with American prices as the latter rose and the situation became more normal.

Exports of raw cotton from India declined from 4,173,000 bales to 3,188,000 bales. As usual, Japan took a larger share of the exports than any other country, but her takings declined from 2,084,000 bales to 1,842,000 bales. The Chinese market absorbed only 391,000 bales as compared with 538,000 bales in 1925-26. Shipments to the United Kingdom and to every continental country which has hitherto taken Indian cotton declined during the year, the United Kingdom's requirements falling by no less than 61 per cent. which represents a reduction from 225,000 bales to 87,000 bales.

According to the report of the British Cotton Growing Association, cotton growing within the Empire had a remarkably successful year in 1926, the approximate estimate of cotton grown in new fields within the Empire being 439,300 bales against 366,700 bales in 1925. The quantity of cotton marketed by the Association was 135,522 bales against 84,320 bales in 1925. The drop in values of American cotton must have hit the cotton cultivators in other countries, but Empire cotton has a great opportunity of establishing itself, if any restriction of American supplies takes place as a consequence of low prices. It has been demonstrated that cotton

of good quality can be grown within the Empire, and if methods of preparing for the market are improved and the cost of transportation reduced, Empire-grown cotton may in time contribute a substantial share to the world's supplies and make for greater stability in cotton prices. In India there has been a great improvement during recent years in the production of medium staple cotton and prospects of further improvement are bright. The danger is that owing to the low prices secured for medium staple cottons, growers may be tempted to revert to the short staple Indian cotton for which demand is fairly constant, though not capable of any great expansion. It is, therefore, important that Indian staple cottons should not lose their hold on any market, where they are known. That certain types of Indian cotton like the best Punjab-American, Madras-Cambodia, and Surat 1,027 A.L.F. can be used in Lancashire was proved by recent tests conducted with the co-operation of the Oldham Master Cotton Spinner's Federation, the British Cotton Growing Association and the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation. Spinners who have been impressed with the results of these tests will, by using these cottons, be encouraging a source of supply which will serve as a safeguard against fluctuations that may take place when a shortage of American cotton occurs.

We have already seen that the year 1926-27 was a record year for yarn production in Indian mills, and it is not therefore surprising to find that exports of yarn increased from nearly 32 million lbs. to 41½ million lbs. In value, the exports increased from Rs. 2,93 lakhs in 1925-26 to Rs. 3,08½ lakhs in the year under review. There was a welcome increase in the demand from China, which took 16·8 million lbs. of Indian yarn during the year as compared with 9¾ million lbs. in the previous year. The other countries which helped in the revival of the Indian export business were Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Aden and its dependencies.

The total production of piecegoods in Indian mills in 1926-27 showed a noteworthy increase of 16 per cent. in quantity as compared with the previous year; but the proportion of exports of piecegoods to the total production remained practically the same as in 1925-26, the percentages being 8·4 in the latter year and 8·7 in the year under review. Measured in yards, however, the exports of piecegoods showed an increase of 32·6 millions over those of the preceding year. A striking feature of the figures for

exports of piecegoods during the year under review is the decline in the export of grey piecegoods by about 17½ million yards, *i.e.*, a fall of 47 per cent. on the previous year. White and coloured piecegoods, on the other hand, showed encouraging increases of 74 per cent. and 39 per cent. respectively. The takings of Indian piecegoods by the principal markets showed increases as compared with the previous year, except in the case of the Straits Settlements. The total production in 1926-27 increased by 304¼ million yards, to which grey and bleached piecegoods contributed 162·9 million yards and coloured piecegoods 141·3 million yards respectively.

In accordance with one of the recommendations of the Cotton Tariff Board's Report the Government of India have sent a Trade Mission to certain countries in the Near East and in Africa to make a survey of their potentialities as markets for Indian cotton goods and to make recommendations for the encouragement of the export of cotton manufactures from India, these recommendations to include the appointment of Indian Trade Commissioners where desirable.

The Mission consists of Dr. D. B. Meek, Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, as Government representative and Mr. T. Maloney, Secretary to the Bombay Millowner's Association, who represents the Indian cotton textile industry. The Mission is also accompanied by a Commercial Adviser, Mr. Jeevandas Purshotam Dutia, to advise it on technical questions that will arise in the course of its investigations.

The Mission started on the 27th January 1928, and is expected to finish its work in about 5 months.

Food grains, pulses and flour contributed a still smaller share to the export trade of the country during the year under review, and, compared with the average annual shipments during the pre-war quinquennium, the exports showed a decline in quantity of 45 per cent. As compared with 1925-26, the fall in the quantity exported was 21 per cent. Total exports during the year amounted to 2,429,000 tons valued at 39¼ crores as compared with 30,63,000 tons valued at Rs. 48 crores in 1925-26. All important items in this class showed decreases, rice not in the husk falling by 20 per cent. or over half a million tons, wheat by 17 per cent. or 36,000 tons, whilst exports of barley fell from 42,000 tons to 1,600 tons. As usual, rice accounted for by far the greater part no less than

85 per cent., of the total quantity of food grains and flour exported. Wheat and flour accounted for 10 per cent. and pulse for 5 per cent. of the total. Exports of rice touched a very low level during the year. Of the rice-growing provinces, Burma alone has a large exportable surplus, other provinces, cultivating mostly for their own consumption. During 1926-27 the production of cleaned rice in Burma and India was one million tons less than in the previous year. Ceylon was the largest purchaser of rice during the year, with the Straits Settlements second. European countries generally took less than in 1925-26 and Japanese demands fell sharply from 285,000 tons to 122,000 tons.

Exports of Indian wheat depend on two factors, the available supplies in the country and the position in all the exporting countries. The out-turn of wheat in this country in 1925-26 was even smaller than it had been in 1924-25 whereas supplies of wheat in other exporting countries were generally ample. Exports from India therefore fell during 1926-27 to 176,000 tons. In 1925-26 the export had been 212,000 tons and in the year before that 1,112,000 tons. During the five years ending with the year 1913-14 the average exports of Indian wheat had been 1,308,000 tons. The United Kingdom and France were the chief customers for Indian wheat.

The season 1926-27 was a fairly satisfactory one for the tea industry, although prices fell steadily during the year. The production of tea during the season was a record one as the result of a combination of favourable circumstances, namely, a well distributed rainfall, a more adequate labour supply and the absence of any serious blights. During the first half of the year under review good prices were realised but the influence of excessive production month after month made itself felt from the very beginning. The total production of tea in 1926 is estimated at 393 million pounds as compared with 364 million pounds in 1925 and 375 million pounds in 1924. Assam, as usual, contributed the largest share of this amount, her outturn being 62 per cent. of the total production. Northern India excluding Assam contributed 25 per cent. and Southern India 13 per cent. The total area under tea in 1926 was 740,000 acres as compared with 728,000 acres in 1925. Export figures were satisfactory the total shipments increasing by 7 per cent. in both quantity and value, amounting to 349 million pounds valued at 29 crores of rupees. As usual the largest part

of the shipments went to the United Kingdom, which, besides being a large consuming country is also a distributing centre for tea. She absorbed 84 per cent. of India's exports and took 290 million pounds of black tea and 1,220,000 pounds of green tea. Re-exports of Indian tea from the United Kingdom in 1926-27 decreased to 45 million pounds from 52 million pounds in 1925-26 and of these Russia took over 4½ million pounds, the Irish Free State 17½ million pounds and other European countries nearly 11 million pounds. The United States of America took nearly 5 million pounds and Canada including Newfoundland 4 million pounds. Direct shipments from India to the United States of America, Australia and Canada all increased in amount. In Canada there is a large potential market which will repay development.

Oilseeds now represent an important item in India's export trade and it is disappointing to have to report a large decrease of no less than 33 per cent. in the quantity of exports of oil seeds during the year under review. The amount exported fell from 1¼ million tons to 838,000 tons, while in value there was a drop of 36 per cent., from Rs. 29,64 lakhs to Rs. 19,09 lakhs. The truth is that the Indian export trade in oil seeds is now suffering from the growing competition of other producing countries and in 1926-27 difficulties arising from this source were reinforced by the troubles of the British oil seed crushing and vegetable oil industry which had a bad year owing to the general industrial dislocation brought about by the coal strike. On the other hand it must be remembered that the Indian home market is absorbing a much larger share of Indian production than it used to do. The Indian linseed crop was short and this, accompanied by an abundant crop in the Argentine, led to a reduction in the exports of Indian linseed from 308,000 tons in 1925-26 to 192,000 tons the next year. The Indian groundnut crop of 1926-27 is estimated at 1,931,000 tons, whereas the crop the year before was estimated at just under 2 million tons. Exports of groundnuts therefore decreased in quantity by 19 per cent. and in value by 20 per cent. The decline in exports may be attributed to difficulties in securing freights to continental ports at reasonable rates as a result of the British coal strike, and also to the unsettled condition of the franc exchange and to speculative

holding by exporters in the hope of cheaper freight and higher prices. France is India's principal market for groundnut but she proved to be a disappointing customer during the year, her takings falling from 204,000 tons in 1925-26 to 125,000 tons in the year under review.

Of other exports hides and skins showed no striking variation as compared with the preceding year. Shipments of raw hides and skins amounted to 50,627 tons. Exports of raw wool increased from 43½ million pounds in 1925-26 to nearly 45 million pounds in 1926-27 and as usual the United Kingdom took the bulk of India's exports. Shipments to that country rose from nearly 38 million lbs. to 40½ million pounds. The production of pig iron in India increased from 875,000 tons in 1925-26 to 957,000 tons in 1926-27 but the exports, mostly from Bengal, fell from 382,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,75 lakhs to 309,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,40 lakhs. This decrease was mainly due to the possibility of the imposition of a countervailing duty by the United States Government on imports of pig iron produced by the Tata Iron and Steel Company which enjoyed a bounty prior to April 1927. Shipments to the United States dropped by 74 per cent. in quantity from 156,000 tons to 41,000 tons. The United Kingdom and Germany also reduced their demands but Japan, the best customer for Indian pig iron, increased her takings by 66,000 tons. There was a further decrease in the exports of unmanufactured tobacco which receded by 22 per cent. in quantity and 8 per cent. in value, from 37 million pounds valued at Rs. 105 lakhs in 1925-26 to 29 million pounds valued at Rs. 97 lakhs in 1926-27. In view of the preference enjoyed by Empire-grown tobacco in the United Kingdom it is interesting to note that shipments to that country rose from 7·8 million pounds to 10·3 million pounds. The proposal to establish a Tobacco Bureau at Pusa which will initiate improvements in curing and introduce new strains of tobacco was put forward by the Board of Agriculture in 1925 and is now engaging attention. There is a keen demand for tobacco suitable for cigarette manufacture and it is expected that improvement in the quality of the Indian leaf will ultimately enable local cigarette manufacturers to dispense with supplies of American leaf and will enable them to increase their export busi-

ness, because owing to the inferior quality of her leaf India is not at present able to take full advantage of the preference given to Empire-grown tobacco in the United Kingdom.



From the preceding paragraphs the leading features in the distribution of India's overseas trade can be traced but it may be as well to set down here a few general remarks. The most noteworthy feature of both the import and export trade of this country during the past few years is the progressive decline in the share taken by the United Kingdom. This tendency was accentuated during the year under review by the effects of the prolonged coal strike, of which we have already said a good deal. Her share in imports dropped from 51·4 per cent. in 1925-26 to 47·8 per cent. in 1926-27 but her share in the export trade showed a diminutive increase from 21 per cent. to 21·5 per cent. The share of the British Dominions in the Indian import trade declined slightly from 7·7 to 7·1 per cent., while in the export trade their share increased from 14·2 to 17 per cent. The whole British Empire had 45·5 per cent. of the total trade; that is, 54·9 per cent. in imports and 38·5 per cent. in exports, as compared with 44 per cent. in the preceding year. The United States of America continued her steady progress and imports therefrom increased from 6·7 to 7·9 per cent. This rise, however, can be accounted for almost entirely by the unusually large imports of American cotton into India on account of the extraordinary conditions which prevailed during the year under review and which have been mentioned already. In exports also America's share rose slightly. Another outstanding feature of India's overseas trade during recent years has been the rise of Japan, both as exporter and importer; but during 1926-27 her progress suffered a setback, her share declining from 8 per cent. to 7·1 per cent. in imports and from 15 to 13·3 per cent. in exports. The trail of the British coal strike is to be seen again in Germany's record during the year, for she accounted for 7·3 per cent. of the total import trade as compared with 5·9 per cent. during the preceding year and 6·9 per cent. in the last pre-war year.

Turning now to individual heads we notice that the effects of the coal strike in the United Kingdom are again traceable in the imports from that country, particularly in the case of iron and steel and railway plant and rolling stock in which her share dropped from 67·7 and 85 per cent. to 62 and 61·6 per cent., respectively. Her chief competitors in these lines, namely, Belgium, Germany and the United States, gained considerable ground at her expense. In machinery also both the United States and Germany improved their position, again at the expense chiefly of the United Kingdom. We said in last year's report that Germany seemed to be on the way to acquiring a monopoly of the hardware trade, and in the year under review her share under this head had increased from 27·5 to 31·2 per cent., whilst the United Kingdom's share dropped from 38·1 per cent. to 36·4 per cent. In motor vehicles there were small decreases in the shares of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, while those of Canada, Italy and France increased. In the most important item of all, however, cotton manufactures, the United Kingdom slightly improved to 75·3 per cent.

On the export side the United Kingdom's share in the total exports of tea fell slightly to 85 per cent., while the United States of America showed an increased preference for Indian tea, her share advancing from 1·4 to 2·1 per cent. The shares of Canada and Australia also showed increases. In raw jute Germany came first with 27·6 per cent. as compared with 21·5 per cent. in the preceding year, while the share of the United Kingdom fell from 27·9 to 22·9 per cent. The United States and Belgium increased their participation to 12 and 6·3 per cent., respectively, while the interest shown by France and Italy decreased. In exports of jute manufactures there was a decrease in the share of the United States from 37·5 to 35 per cent., while both Australia and the Argentine showed marked increases. The share of the United Kingdom decreased and that of Japan increased slightly. Of the total exports of raw cotton Japan absorbed 58·7 per cent., an appreciable increase on her share in the preceding year, whilst every European country, including the United Kingdom, made less demand for Indian cotton.

The tables below show the direction of Indian trade in imports and exports during the last three years for which full figures are

available, and in the last pre-war year, and reveal some interesting features and tendencies—

Imports.

—	1913-14.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
United Kingdom	64·1	54·1	51·4	47·8
Germany	6·9	6·3	5·9	7.3
Java	5·8	6·3	6·2	6·2
Japan	2·6	6·9	8·0	7·1
United States of America	2·6	5·7	6·7	7·9
Belgium	2·3	2·7	2·7	2·9
Austria and Hungary	2·3	·4	·5	·7
Straits Settlements	1·8	2·0	2·5	2·5
Persia, Arabia Asiatic Turkey, etc.	1·5	1·1	1·3	1·8
France	1·5	1·0	1·4	1·5
Mauritius	1·3	1·5	·2	...
Italy	1·2	1·6	1·9	2·7
China	·9	1·1	1·2	1·4
Netherlands	·8	1·2	1·6	2·0
Australia	·5	·3	·6	·7
Hongkong	·5	·5	·4	·4
Dutch Borneo	·4	·3	·3	·4
Ceylon	·4	·6	·7	·6
Switzerland	·3	·7	·7	·9
East Africa and Zanzibar	·3	2·0	1·8	1·0

Exports.

—	1913-14.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
United Kingdom	23·4	25·5	21·0	21·5
Germany	10·6	7·1	7·0	6·6
Japan	9·1	14·3	15·0	13·3
United States of America	8·7	8·8	10·4	11·1
France	7·1	5·3	5·5	4·5
Belgium	4·8	3·9	3·2	2·9

Exports—contd.

—	1913-14.	1924-25.	1925-26	1926-27.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Austria and Hungary	4·0	·2	...	·1
Ceylon	3·6	3·7	3·9	4·8
Persia, Arabia Asiatic Turkey, etc.	3·2	1 5	2·4	2·6
Italy	3·1	5 9	5·0	3·7
Hongkong	3·1	·9	·8	1·0
Straits Settlements	2·7	2·1	2·6	3·1
China	2·3	2·4	4·0	3·7
Central and South America	2·2	2·1	2·6	3·1
Netherlands	1·7	2·0	2·0	2·0
Australia	1·6	1·8	2 0	2·5
East Africa and Zanzibar	1·0	1·2	·5	·6
Russia	·9	...	·05	·03
Spain	·8	1·5	1·3	·9
Java	·8	·7	1·2	1·0

There is no need to dwell at any length on India's land frontier trade. Now-a-days only the traffic in a number of selected articles at certain railway stations adjacent to the more important trade routes across the frontiers is registered. During the year 1926-27 imports and exports of practically all the important items in India's foreign trade across the land frontiers increased, and even when compared with her great volume of overseas trade, India's land trade is now far from negligible, the exports of food grains and flour alone amounting to roughly 3 million maunds.

In last year's Report it was stated that the Government of India had decided to revive the compilation of statistics relating to rail and river-borne trade in raw cotton with effect from the 1st October 1926 as these statistics afford valuable assistance to Directors of Agriculture in checking the accuracy of crop forecasts. The statistics which it was then decided to record were only those of exports of cotton from each trade block and it was left to the various Directors of Agriculture, who use the statistics for the purpose of estimating the figure of production, to obtain from the mills figures of consumption distinguishing between cotton produced within a block and cotton imported from an outside block.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee have since urged that figures of exports only are not sufficient to provide the necessary check and that statistics should be registered both of exports and imports of cotton from and into each trade block so as to enable an independent estimate to be made of the production of cotton in a particular block. The proposal has been accepted by the Government of India and steps are being taken to give effect to it.

CHAPTER VII.

Finance.

It is unfortunate that the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly, that is, the Budget Session this year, was overshadowed by the controversies arising directly or indirectly out of the Simon Commission. For Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member, in his Budget-speech for 1928-29, delivered on February the 29th, 1928, announced the complete and final remission of provincial contributions. In last year's report a brief sketch of the history of the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments in India was given in order to enable readers who have not made a study of the Indian financial system to understand something of the vast importance of the remission of the contributions to the Central Government from the provinces. Short as it was, that sketch gave certain unique illustrations of the truism that the financial system of a country is complementary to its official and administrative system, and by its help we saw how the fundamental changes in the government of this country which had been made since it came directly under the Crown in 1858, had been accompanied by fundamental changes in her financial arrangements also. Unless the reader knows something of the financial relations between the Central Government and the provinces in this country he cannot hope to understand the existing Indian political problem properly, and, therefore, the story of these relations will be repeated and expanded this year. In addition, an attempt will be made to present the existing relations between the Central Government and the provinces within as brief a compass as possible, particularly as these have developed since 1921, the year in which the present system of government came into operation as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. These narratives will, it is hoped, give the reader some knowledge of a highly important side of the Indian Administrative system, one, moreover, which has hitherto almost escaped the notice of writers on Indian political and economic subjects.



The beginning of the control of the Provincial Governments over their own finances dates from 1870 when Lord Mayo started

that process of devolving financial and general administrative authority on the Provinces which has resulted in the quasi-federal system which exists to-day. Before his time all the revenues of India went into one purse, and the Provinces were allotted for their annual expenditure only those sums which the Government of India thought fit, or which they could be persuaded or cajoled into granting. The inevitable result of such a system as this was pointed out by Sir Richard Strachey nearly fifty years ago when he wrote:—

> "The distribution of the public income degenerated into something like a scramble, in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little attention to reason; as local economy brought no local advantage, the stimulus to avoid waste was reduced to a minimum, and as no local growth of the income led to local means of improvement, the interest in developing the public revenues was also brought down to the lowest level."

Lord Mayo's solution was to give each Province a fixed annual grant for the administration of the Provincial services—this to prevent such raids on the central treasury as Sir Richard Strachey described—and also to give Provincial Governments an interest in nursing the taxable capacity of their subjects by allowing them to impose certain local taxes in aid of the grant from the Central Government. It was not long, however, before further changes were called for, and between 1877 and 1883 the financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces experienced further developments, including the resettlement on a wider basis of the system of Provincial finances. For example, in the Provincial settlements of 1870-71 a fixed sum had been made over to each Local Government to defray the cost of Provincial services, but by these subsequent reforms a share in the revenues was substituted for the fixed grant. This gave a margin which might be increased by careful management. The settlements were made liable to periodical revision and the system thus established existed with modifications until the end of the first decade of this century. This is the beginning of the system of the division of revenue heads into central, provincial and divided—a system which lasted until the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The heads of revenues which were made over to the Provinces were believed to be capable of expansion by careful management and thus likely to meet provincial needs.

But, of course, revenue and expenditure in the provinces could not be made to meet exactly, and so the excess of provincial expenditure over revenue was made up by assignments from the Central Government expressed as a percentage of the land revenue of each province, which was otherwise a Central receipt.



The principal land-marks in the history of Central and Provincial financial relations between Lord Mayo's and immediately subsequent Reforms, and the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921, are the quasi-permanent settlements which came into operation from 1904 onwards, and the permanent settlements from 1911-1921. By the former the revenues assigned to a province were definitely fixed and were not subject to alterations by the Central Government except in cases of extreme and general necessity, or unless experience showed that the assignment made was disproportionate to normal provincial needs. The object of this reform was to give to the Provinces security and a motive for economy and careful husbanding of resources. Henceforward the Provinces could maintain some continuity of financial policy since they were assured that they would reap the benefits of their own economics and would not be forced into ill-considered schemes of expenditure merely in order to show at the next settlement with the Central Government that their scale of expenditure was high and their needs corresponding thereto. The financial reform of 1911 made the settlement absolutely permanent. In 1911 also the fixed assignments to the Provinces were reduced but the provincial share of growing revenue was increased. During these years a further benefit was conferred on the Provinces by the introduction of a new Famine Insurance Scheme in 1906, by which the Government of India placed to the credit of each Province exposed to famine a fixed amount on which it could draw in time of need without trenching on its normal resources. If this fund became exhausted, further expenditure would be shared equally by the Central and Provincial Governments, and, in the last resort, the Government of India would give the Provinces further assistance from central revenues. In 1917 these arrangements were modified and famine relief became a divided head, the expenditure being apportioned between the Central and Provincial Governments in the proportion of 3 to 1. Before this scheme was introduced, the liability

for famine expenditure had lain upon the Provinces and the Central Government had only intervened when the latter resources had become exhausted.

Thus, at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the financial relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments were broadly these. The budget of the Government of India was made to include the transactions of Provincial Governments, the revenue enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income which were shared between the Government of India and themselves. Generally speaking, certain heads of revenue, such as the land revenue, excise, income-tax, and the profits from productive irrigation works, were divided between the Provincial and the Central Governments. The Provincial Governments took the receipts from Forests and Registration, as well as from Courts and Jails. To the Government of India went the revenue from opium, salt, customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, and tributes from the Indian States. The Central Government out of these incomings was responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways, posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the Home charges. The Provinces from their incomings met the expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education and with medical services. Charges for irrigation were common to both the Central and to the Provincial Governments.



The basic principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are completely opposed to the principles upon which the old settlements were based. There is no need to discuss here the wider objects of the new model of government which was introduced by these Reforms, but the most obvious ways in which it affects the financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces may be briefly outlined. In the first place we may consider the effect of dyarchy, that is, the division of the departments of provincial administration into reserved and transferred departments, which introduces a new conception into the Government of India. The reserved departments, which include such services as police and irrigation, are still kept under executive control, but the transferred departments, among which are

numbered the well-named "nation-building" services, like education, local self-government, agriculture, sanitation and so on, are now transferred to the ultimate control of the Provincial legislatures. Behind these far-reaching administrative changes lies the deeper purpose of introducing India to responsible self-government, and it is in the provinces and by the medium of dyarchy that this purpose is meant to be achieved. There is no dyarchy in the Central Government, which still remains under official control, tempered largely, it is true, by the influence which the central legislature can bring to bear upon the Executive Government. This at once brings us up against the basic conditions of the financial system which is the corollary of the new system of government, for the Provincial Governments are now, so far as some of their most important activities are concerned, popular governments responsible for their doings in the transferred departments through ministers to popularly elected legislative councils. Therefore it is clear that the old financial system, which admitted almost unlimited control on the part of the Central Government over the financial and general administration of the provinces, had to go. It has been shown that the "divided heads" were the most typical feature of the old system and that these "Divided Heads" provided the Central Government with its most extensive opportunities for intervention in provincial affairs. Therefore the system of "divided heads" had to be abolished. Since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms visualised the working out of responsible government for India primarily in the Provinces, the latter clearly had to start with some measure of autonomy and this involved the separation of the sources of revenue into two separate groups—those belonging to the Government of India, and those belonging to the Provincial Governments. On the other hand, the needs of the Central Government remained, and the abolition of the system of "divided heads" could not be accomplished merely by transferring all provincial resources to the Provinces, for the sources of revenue which would still remain with the Central Government after the transfer had been made were not sufficient for the latter's needs. Thus the admission of the principle, that "divided heads" must be abolished and replaced by a system under which the Government of India and the Provinces would have their own separate sources of revenue, brings us up against the crux of the whole problem,

namely, what heads of revenue should be left with the Provinces and what with the Central Government, respectively.

It is quite possible that the problem would have arisen even had there been no Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, for experience had shewn that the revenues retained by the Government of India under the old settlements were in some years greatly in excess of their requirements and the resulting surpluses were given to the Provinces in the shape of recurring or non-recurring grants for specific purposes. The Reforms, however, by investing the Provinces with a new dignity, and with functions of the most vital importance, made it clear that no mere make-shift or temporary solutions would suit. The new arrangements had to be comprehensive and laid down on a plan whose main lines would be permanent whatever adjustments and alterations in detail might have to be made under the stress of circumstances and in the light of experience.

It is unfortunate that the scope of this report does not permit us to consider the many difficulties which faced those who had to lay down this plan, for such a discussion would give the reader an insight into the inner workings of government in this country. We shall have to content ourselves, therefore, by doing little more than stating the decisions which were reached after much consideration and enquiry. A tentative scheme for a financial settlement between the Government of India and the Provinces was sketched in Chapter VIII of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which was presented to His Majesty's Government in 1918. In that chapter the complete separation of central and provincial revenues and the consequent abolition of "divided heads" were recommended. The scheme also comprised the complete separation of the Central and Provincial budgets and the enlargement of the provincial powers of taxation and borrowing. The greater part of the scheme outlined in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms commended itself to the Provincial Governments since it was obviously calculated to increase their financial powers in a number of very important particulars, but, of course, the division of the revenues between the Central Government and the Provinces, with its inevitable corollary of deficit in the Central finances which must be met by contributions from the provinces, obviously had to be the subject of further enquiry and arrangement between the parties concerned. In section 206 of the 1918 Report, certain

exemplar figures are given as an estimate of the anticipated deficit of the Central Government and the contributions to be made by each individual province. The proposed basis on which the contributions were to be fixed was the difference between the gross provincial revenue and the gross provincial expenditure. Other possible bases of settlement had been examined and this had been chosen as being at once the most practicable and the least inequitable. The objections to it are obvious enough, since the provinces with the most liberal scale of expenditure were likely to fare better than those which had been more economical. But this and other objections were considered only to be dismissed. The conditions of the problem were given and the solution stated above was the one offered. The Authors of the Report admitted that their scheme would, to some extent, affirm existing inequalities and all that they could do to mitigate this was to recommend that the whole question should be reinvestigated by the Statutory Commission after ten years' experience of the working of the Reforms. In practice, however, it was found impossible to leave the question at this point, for the proposals aroused strong feeling and vehement opposition throughout India. From Madras, for example, nearly five times as much would be levied as from Bombay, and from the United Provinces nearly five times as much as from Bengal, while the Punjab and Burma would have to contribute far more than other and wealthier provinces. In the first despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which the Government of India sent to the Secretary of State in March 1919, the strong opposition to the above proposals for the financial settlement was reported, and the Government of India stated definitely that they could not justify the permanent retention of the criterion for provincial contributions proposed in the Report. The whole question, they said, required skilled investigation and to this end they proposed that a committee on financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces should be appointed either by themselves or by the Secretary of State to advise fully upon the subject. This view was endorsed by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which sat on the Reforms Bill, and accordingly, a committee consisting of Lord Meston, Mr. Charles Roberts, and Lieutenant-Commander E. Hilton Young was appointed to enquire into this subject. The

committee, which will henceforth be called the Meston Committee, was asked to advise on—

(*a*) the contributions to be paid by the various provinces to the Central Government for the financial year 1921-22,

(*b*) the modifications to be made in the provincial contributions thereafter with a view to the equitable distributions until there ceases to be an all-India deficit,

(*c*) the future financing of the provincial loans account.

These original terms of reference were increased at the instance of the Government of Bombay during the Committee's investigations in India so as to include the question whether the Government of Bombay should retain any share of the revenue derived from the income-tax. The significance of this addition to the terms of reference and its bearing on the subject of provincial contributions will be seen when we examine the reception which was given by the Provinces and the press to the Report of the Meston Committee.

The task of the Committee was in essence to arrange an ideal distribution of the deficit in the central revenues among the provinces, and to fix a standard scale of contributions to which the latter would work up by stages. A certain amount of spadework had been done for them by a conference of financial representatives of the different provinces which had been held in September 1919. This conference had discussed the normal figures of revenue and expenditure of all the provinces and these were laid before the Meston Committee for review and confirmation or such alteration as its members thought necessary. The Committee first reviewed the proposals put forward in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms for the allocation of heads of revenue between the Central Government and the Provinces and found no reasons to alter them except in one very important particular, namely, the revenue head of general stamps. They reported that the arguments addressed to them on this part of their enquiry related mainly to income-tax and general Stamps. Certain Local Governments remonstrated against losing a share in these two heads of revenue, because they possessed greater possibilities of expansion than perhaps any others. The plea for making income-tax receipts a provincial asset was pressed with far greater earnestness in Bombay than elsewhere.

The Committee re-affirmed the view expressed in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that income-tax should be credited

entirely to the Central Government. That Report pointed out the necessity of maintaining a uniform rate for the tax throughout the country and to the inconveniences, particularly to the commercial world, of having different rates in different provinces. It further laid stress on the case of ramifying enterprises which had their business centre in some big city and did not necessarily pay income-tax in the provinces in which the income was earned. The Meston Committee indeed, carried the second argument still further and pointed to the case of public companies with shareholders scattered over India and elsewhere, and their decision, therefore, was that income-tax should remain a central receipt. General stamps, however, they found to be in a different case. The Reforms Report had argued in favour of crediting the receipts from general stamps to the Central Government, but the Meston Committee found that this argument had not the same force as those relating to the income-tax. By crediting the receipts from general stamps to the Central Government, and the receipts from Judicial stamps to the Provincial Governments a divided head was still retained in the financial system, for both general and judicial stamps were controlled by the same agency and there was a good deal of miscellaneous work and outlay common to both. If the "cleancut" between central and provincial revenues, which the Authors of the Reforms Report had regarded as imperative, were to be made absolute, then general stamps must be made a provincial receipt, and this, accordingly, the Committee recommended. There were other very strong arguments in favour of this recommendation. The task of the Meston Committee was to assess, if possible, some contributions on each province and yet leave it with a surplus. At the conference of September 1919, it had been shown that Bengal and Bihar had normally no surplus but a deficit, while the Central Provinces had a surplus so small that no appreciable contribution could be taken from it. The task of the Committee, therefore, in the case of Bengal and Bihar was an impossible one, if the allocation of revenue, made in the Reforms Report, was to be confirmed. But by giving to the provinces the receipts from general stamps, the task would at least be made possible. Most of the provinces naturally desired to have a growing head of revenue like general stamps, and its transfer would make the assessment of contributions much easier and, as between provinces, less invidious. But on the other hand the adoption of this recommendation would raise the

deficit in the central revenues considerably and thus make the process of absorbing it more protracted. In view of the circumstances of India at the time when the Meston Committee was at work, the balance of advantage lay on the whole with the transfer of general stamps to the provinces. The financial settlement under the Reforms had to treat all the latter alike, and the fundamental principles on which the settlement was based forbade the grant of any subvention by the Central Government to any individual province. Clearly the Reforms could not be allowed to start in Bengal and Bihar, and, possibly in the Central Provinces also, with a demonstrably inevitable deficit. Therefore, if subventions to individual provinces were barred, no other course was open to the Government of India and to Parliament except to increase the provincial sources of revenue. And yet, there are many objections to the provincialisation of general stamps. It is obviously desirable for example, to have a uniform stamp duty for such instruments as bills of exchange, the articles of association of a company, transfers, shipping orders, share warrants, and so on in a large number of other cases. Even under the present arrangement, it is possible for the Government of India to insist on uniformity of stamp duties for the instruments mentioned above and in the general economic interests of India, therefore, it might be desirable to reconsider the transfer of general stamps when the financial position of the provinces permits reconsideration.

Apart from the allocation of the income-tax, in regard to which Bombay was the province most interested, the crux of the Meston Committee's problem was provided by the settlement of the contributions which the provinces were to pay to the Central Government. This part of the problem divides into two: first, the initial contributions for the year 1921-22 and secondly, the so-called standard contributions, *i.e.*, the ideal scale on which the provinces should equitably be called upon to contribute until the necessity for the contributions disappeared with the disappearance of the deficit in the central revenues. After carefully considering the figures provided by the conference of September 1919, and receiving representations, the committee fixed the total sum, which the provinces were required to contribute, at 983 lakhs. After exhaustive consideration of the problems involved in the fixation of the initial contributions from the provinces, the Meston Committee decided that the fairest method of assessment was on the

"Windfall" principle, that is, the Committee worked out the net increase in the total income, including general stamps, of all the provinces taken together, at the figure of 18,50 lakhs. This represented the amount which the provinces gained and the Central Government lost in the redistribution and the Committee maintained that it was only reasonable that the provinces should forego some of this increased spending power in favour of the Central Government. Accordingly, they pressed to assess the initial contributions on this increase of spending power in the provinces in such a way as to leave each province a surplus to enable the new councils to be inaugurated without the necessity of resorting to fresh taxation. But even after they had adopted the "windfall" principle, the Meston Committee found it no easy matter to settle the initial contributions. At first they considered the possibility of levying an even rate on the increase in spending power of all the Provinces but they saw that even this apparently equitable arrangement would, in view of the unequal financial strength of the Provinces, cause hardship in some cases. Each province had to be considered on its merits, and the Committee, relying on the abundant statistical information at their disposal and on their own summing up of the general situation based on local enquiries, drew up the following table which represents their proposed allotment of initial contributions to be paid by the provinces.

(In Lakhs).

Provinces.	Increased spending powers under new distribution of revenues.	Contributions as recommended by the Committee.	Increased spending powers left after contributions are paid.
Madras	5,76	3,48	2,28
Bombay	93	56	37
Bengal	1,04	63	41
United Provinces	3,97	2,40	1,57
Punjab	2,89	1,75	1,14
Burma	2,46	64	1,82
Bihar and Orissa	51	*Nil.*	51
Central Provinces	52	22	30
Assam	42	15	27
	18,50	9,83	8,67

It is a pity that space forbids our reproducing the interesting arguments and calculations by which the Meston Committee arrived

at these standard contributions to be paid by the provinces, but the following short extract from their Report sums up a good deal of this material:—

"In arriving at this ratio we have taken into consideration the indirect contributions of the provinces to the purse of the Government of India and in particular the incidence of custom duties and of income-tax. We have inquired into the relative taxable capacities of the provinces in the light of their agricultural and industrial wealth and of all other relevant incidents of their economic positions, including particularly their liability to famine. It should be observed that we have considered their taxable capacities not only as they are at the present time, or as they will be in the immediate future, but from the point of view also of the capacity of each province for expansion and development, agriculturally and industrially, and in respect of imperfectly developed assets such as minerals and forests. We have also given consideration to the elasticity of the existing heads of revenue which will be secured to each province, and to the availability of its wealth for taxation. After estimating, to the best of our ability, the weight which should be given to each of the circumstances, we recommend the following fixed ratio as representing an equitable basis for the relative contributions of the provinces to the deficit:—

Standard Contributions.

Provinces.	Per cent contribution to deficit.
Madras	17
Bombay	13
Bengal	19
United Provinces	18
Punjab	9
Burma	6½
Bihar and Orissa	10
Central Provinces	5
Assam	2½
	100 per cent."



Naturally this settlement did not please everybody and, indeed, it pleased very few. A predominantly agricultural province like the Punjab gained appreciably by having the whole of the land revenue instead of only a portion as hitherto, but provinces like Bengal and Bombay, with considerable industries, were in a far less happy position. They provided the bulk of the Indian revenue from Income-Tax and yet they could not hope for any share of it. Madras, too, had special cause of complaint against the settlement. Far and away the heaviest initial contribution, namely, 3,48 lakhs, was demanded from her and her people and the Madras Government felt this sacrifice all the more keenly since, if their standard of public expenditure had not been kept by them in the past at a comparatively moderate figure, their windfall under the reformed system of finance would not have been so great, nor consequently would their contribution. Bengal and Bombay, on the other hand, complained that they were now faced with the necessity either of reducing their standard of public expenditure or else of running into debt—a process which the Government of India was not likely to allow to proceed too far. However, the Government of India under the stress of its own over-riding necessity had no alternative but to adhere to the Meston Award, and so the Reforms opened with what some of the provinces regarded as a crippling levy on their revenues. The Joint Select Committee of Parliament, however, made certain modifications in the Meston proposals. The scheme of standard contributions was rejected and it was pointed out that the provincial contributions should be wiped out at the earliest possible moment. Further they directed that the provinces should be given a small share in the growth of income-tax. It must be admitted that the years immediately following the Meston Settlement brought little happiness to the provincial financial departments, but it must also be admitted that the payment of provincial contributions was only one contributory cause of this. India, like every other belligerent country, had had to divert her energies to the prosecution of the war and therefore during these early post-war years there was much reconstruction and development work to be done. The greater part of this now fell to the lot of the Provincial Governments, which also had to incur large expenditure in increasing salaries to meet the increased cost of living and in adding new staffs and new departments in accordance with the expansion of their activities and responsibilities. Thus,

the years following 1920 were years of financial leanness for the provinces as well as for the Government of India, and the circumstances of these years were such as to force the provinces into heavy expenditure whilst leaving their revenues comparatively inelastic. Thus, Provincial Governments were forced to look for relief primarily to the remission of the provincial contributions, and the record of debates in the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and the output of newspaper articles and platform oratory shows how strongly the demand for remission was pressed during the years immediately succeeding the Meston Award.

Before the Government of India could take any step toward abolishing or reducing provincial contributions, it obviously had to balance its own budget. In previous reports fuller accounts have been given of the process by which the Indian Government achieved a balanced budget after five years of deficits between 1918 and 1923, and there is no need to repeat the story here. But in order to give desirable completeness to our study of the problem of provincial contributions, we may examine the actual details of the reduction and final extinction of the contributions. First, however, it should be explained that according to the plan laid down for the abolition of provincial contributions certain provinces have priority over other provinces in the matter of remissions. The Meston Committee gave Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma the first claim on remissions and not until almost half of the total contributions had been remitted could any other province claim any relief. From that point onwards, however, every province in India was to share in a prescribed measure in any relief accorded by the Government of India until the contributions were altogether abolished. It was in his budget speech for 1925-26 that Sir Basil Blackett, after showing a surplus of 3,24 lakhs of rupees, made the welcome announcement that he proposed to employ Rs. 2,50 lakhs of this surplus in the permanent remission of provincial contributions. By this first remission, therefore, Madras received 1,26 lakhs of rupees, the Punjab 61 lakhs, the United Provinces 56 lakhs and Burma 7 lakhs. In the next Budget Statement, that for 1926-27, Sir Basil Blackett announced that a further sum of 1,25 lakhs would be permanently remitted to the same provinces and accordingly, of the 1,25 lakhs, 57 lakhs went

to Madras, 33 to the United Provinces, 28 to the Punjab and 7 again to Burma. The next year again in his budget speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly on February 28th, 1927, Sir Basil Blackett announced a net recurrent surplus of 3,64 lakhs. Again he decided that the most urgent claimant for the surplus was the remission of provincial contributions. The surplus was less by 1,81 lakhs than the amount required to make a clean sweep of provincial contributions. But an appeal for help had been received from Bombay and as it was inexpedient to favour one province at the expense of others the Government of India had decided to divert a portion of the current year's realised surplus from the usual debt redemption to the remission of all outstanding provincial contributions for the year 1927-28 only. The end of provincial contributions came with the budget for 1928-29 when Sir Basil Blackett announced that the portion of the contributions which he had remitted temporarily for 1927-28 would henceforth be permanently remitted.

The section of the budget speech which announces the permanent extinction of provincial contributions occupies only 12 lines in the printed report and thus curtly and inconspicuously was accomplished one of the greatest triumphs of the reformed system of government in India. The table on page 249 which shows the total amounts to be paid by the provinces to the Government of India will speak more eloquently than mere words of the immense benefits which must accrue to the provinces from the successful conclusion of Sir Basil Blackett's fruitful operation on the finances of India during the five years of his tenure of office as Finance Member. For these figures can now be translated into terms of hospitals, schools, dispensaries, wells, and many other claimant ncessities which every Provincial Government wants to supply for the betterment its people. And on the side of the Government of India the prospect is hardly less happy, for henceforth, as Sir Basil Blackett told the Assembly, there will be " no outside claimant to the recurring surpluses which I hope it will be their (The Government of India's) good fortune to enjoy in the coming years, and they will be free to turn their minds on the one hand to new directions in which money can be usefully laid out for India's advancement, and on the other hand to the re-adjustment of the burden of taxation and to those reductions of taxation, so welcome to tax-gatherer and taxpayer alike which, apart from some

minor cases and with the one big exception of the Cotton Excise Duty, have been beyond our reach in my term of office. I cannot more fittingly close my statement than with the prayer that no storm from without or from within may descend upon India to disturb the bright prospects of financial well-being to which she seems to-day to be justified in looking forward."



Let us turn now to the existing financial arrangements, other than those dependent on the Meston Award, between the Central and Provincial Governments in India. We have seen that the Reforms made radical changes in the system of government in this country and that these were more striking and drastic in the Provinces than in the Government of India. We have already studied the outlines of the division of revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments which was the most important part of the settlement of financial relations under the new regime. Other parts of the settlement were, however, of only little less importance.

Under the pre-Reform order of things, the Secretary of State exercised a much closer control over Indian finances and expenditure than he does to-day. As at present, he prescribed limits of expenditure beyond which his specific sanction was necessary. As those limits were comparatively narrow, the arrangement entailed his intervention in a variety of matters, many of them unimportant or, even, the concern primarily of semi-official local bodies such as municipalities. But the Reforms as we have seen, inevitably changed all this and bestowed wider powers of expenditure on the Provincial Governments. On the "transferred" side these were necessarily less restricted than on the "reserved" side, for dyarchy involved a radical alteration of the system of government and the surrender of complete authority over "transferred" subjects, expenditure on which is now controlled by the provincial legislatures. The Secretary of State in Council has, however, reserved to himself the control of expenditure likely to affect the all-India Services and still exercises some control over the purchase of military stores in the United Kingdom. On the "reserved" side, on the other hand, much less latitude is allowed, the power to sanction expenditure being subject to certain limits.



The Government of India also received wider financial powers under the Reforms scheme, but as the dyarchical system was not extended to it, the changes were of degree not of kind. The Secretary of State still approves the Central Government's budget before it is presented to the Legislative Assembly, still sanctions new taxation, and still controls borrowings outside India, the gold reserve, the paper currency, the exchange policy, the pay, allowances and conditions of service of the all-India Services and a host of other such matters.

The provinces now exercise practically full control over their own sources of revenue, namely the provincial balances, receipts from provincial subjects, provincial taxation (the power to impose which has been much enhanced by the Reforms), proceeds from loans and recoveries from loans and, finally, a share of the income-tax realised in the province. Thus practically the entire revenues of a province are available for use on provincial subjects; but Provincial Governments are under obligation to repay amounts previously borrowed from the Government of India, to pay interest on capital expenditure previously incurred by the latter on irrigation works in the province, and to build up, by annual savings a Famine Insurance Fund.

Provincial Governments are free to draw on the first of these sources of revenue provided they give the Central Government notice at the beginning of the year. The latter may also, in an emergency, temporarily restrict the amount to be withdrawn. The power to impose provincial taxation has been much enhanced under the Reforms, but is subject to the previous sanction of the Government of India in certain cases. Also, whereas in pre-Reform days, Provincial Governments were not allowed to borrow in the open market, and were discouraged from borrowing otherwise, their enhanced control over provincial subjects, especially on the "transferred" side, has led to material alteration in this policy. Provincial Governments are now empowered (subject to the Secretary of State's sanction to loans raised outside India and that of the Governor-General in Council to loans raised inside India) to raise money in the open market "on behalf of and in the name of the Secretary of State in Council" on the security of their own revenues for certain purposes and subject to certain conditions. In addition,

they obtain loans from the Provincial Loans Fund established by the Central Government with effect from 1st April, 1925, all the Provincial Governments' liabilities on that date being transferred to it.



*With the lessening of the Secretary of State's and the Government of India's financial control of the provinces has come greater control over the Executive (including the Ministers) by the Legislature. The former's proposals for expenditure are presented to the latter as demands for grants. These are considered and voted upon by the Legislative Council and may be accepted, curtailed, or rejected, but, following the English practice, the Legislature may not increase a grant or change its object. The Council's power over expenditure is restricted to "voted" heads, it having no control over contributions payable to central revenues, charges on loans, expenditure prescribed by law, the salaries and pensions of officers appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State, the salaries of High Court Judges and, in some provinces, expenditure on "backward tracts". The Governor may, however, certify any demand as essential to the discharge of his responsibility if the demand relates to a reserved subject and he has power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department.

In addition to the control of provincial expenditure by the Legislative Council, certain responsibilities in the same direction are exercised by the Finance Department of each Province. The provincial Finance Department is the custodian of the Famine Insurance Fund and must watch the provincial balances and advise on all important financial questions, such as proposals for new loans or taxation, the grant of new rights, assignments of land revenue, schemes for fresh expenditure and the creation or abolition of posts, and changes in their emoluments. It also prepares the budget, lays the Audit Appropriation Report before the Public Accounts Committee, and brings irregularities to its notice, and ensures that audit is effective. All this constitutes very adequate machinery for apprising the legislature of improper use of provincial revenues.



The provinces have benefited in several ways from the improvement in the Central Government's financial position, particularly in respect of their borrowings. The rate of interest has been reduced and in order further to aid the provinces a Provincial Loans Fund has been established, from which large sums can be borrowed on easy terms almost without restriction. The terms moreover are such that the interests of creditors are not jeopardised and preference is given to the more deserving of the objects for which money is requisitioned. The provinces are thus afforded facilities for undertaking the schemes of development which they have most at heart.

The subject of interest on loans has occupied a good deal of attention since the Reforms. A long-standing grievance of the provinces was that though they were charged interest when they overdrew their balances with the Government of India, they were allowed no interest when they had credit balances. This grievance has now been removed and provinces pay no interest on overdrawals during the financial year but only on those outstanding at its termination, which are then regarded as loans. Another development is that Provincial Governments may place money in fixed deposit with the Government of India and receive interest thereon. Similar adjustments have been effected in several other matters between the Central and Provincial Governments. As the assignments made yearly to the latter on account of the sale proceeds of unified postage and revenue stamps were found to be increasingly inadequate, they were suitably increased in 1924.



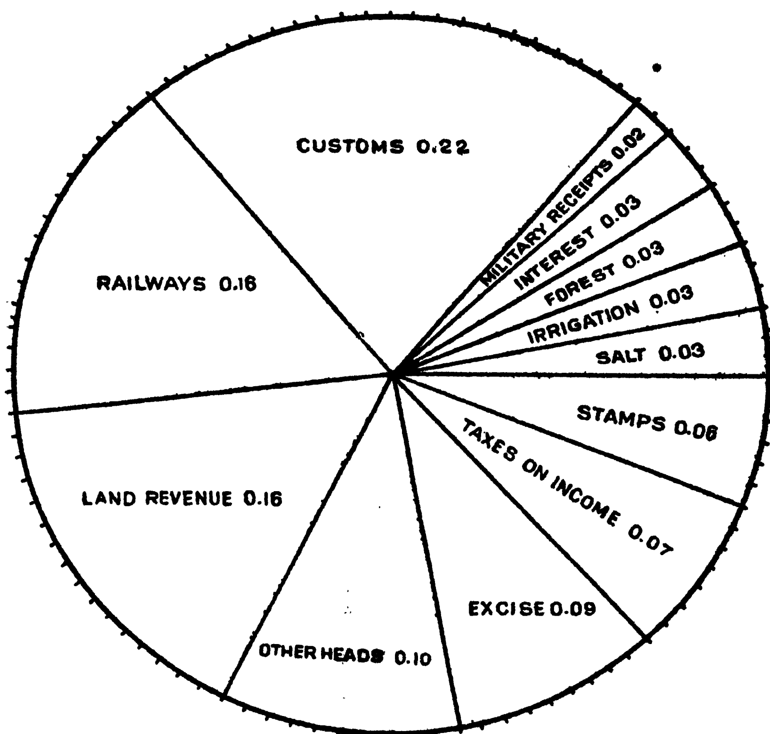
The possibility of separating central and provincial banking accounts has often been mooted but as this is a matter in which it is necessary to move with all possible caution its settlement has been postponed. Experiments have, however, been undertaken in the United Provinces in the separation of audit from accounts, the former remaining the business of the Central Government and the latter being entrusted to the Provincial Government. These experiments were initiated in two departments only, Education and Police; but as they gave satisfactory results they were extended to all departments in April 1926.



DIAGRAM.

How each Rupee of Revenue was made up in India 1926-27.

(Provincial and Central together.)



The Rupee of Revenue 1926-27.

[The basis of reckoning is the same as that on which the accounts and estimates are prepared; working expenses of the Railway, Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs Departments, refunds and the like being deducted from revenue and not treated as expenditure.]

From the foregoing sketch it will be seen that if the position is reviewed over a number of years, it is clear that, despite financial stringency, serious economic dislocation, and heavy expenditure, the country as a whole has been steered gradually into an enviable state of prosperity and practically all the provinces have passed through their worst financial crises. Economic conditions have improved in stability and the prospect is more hopeful everywhere. For this, a good deal of credit must be given to the adjustments which have taken place during the past few years, in the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments.

It may be objected that the space devoted in this chapter to the Meston Award and to the history and exposition of the existing financial arrangements between the Central and Provincial Governments in India is somewhat out of proportion to the rest of the report, but, indeed, this matter of provincial contributions has been one of the most thorny of all the post-Reforms problems of India, and the report for the year which has witnessed the final and complete remission of provincial contributions can, perhaps, afford to neglect one or two other topics of less importance, in order to bring this one the more prominently before the reader. Again, the financial relations between the Government of India and the various Provinces are a subject of great obscurity to the general reader who does not want to work through many official reports or other publications of a technical kind. The foregoing paragraphs have, therefore, been written with a view to instructing those who desire to understand the working of the government machinery in this country, in the structure of what is perhaps its most important part.



One more digression of a general kind and we can take up the subject of the year's finances. In India two annual budgets, the Railway Budget and the General Budget, are presented to the Central Legislature. The separation of railway finance from the general finances of India sprang in the first place from the fact, forcibly pointed out by the Committee under Sir William Acworth which investigated the Indian Railway system, that the annual allotments for railway expenditure were determined from year to year with less regard to actual Railway requirements than to the general financial position of India. The unhappy results of this

arrangement from the railway standpoint were very clearly demonstrated in the Acworth Report. After investigating the matter fully, the Government of India came to the conclusion that the suggested separation would enable the railways of India to be financed as a business undertaking and would also relieve the Government of many difficulties and doubts. When the general budget incorporated the gross receipts and working expenses of the railways, the difference between good and bad trading seasons, and good and bad monsoons, meant a difference of several crores of rupees in the budget figures. Accordingly a scheme was devised separating railway finance from the general finances of India and ensuring to the latter a definite annual contribution from railways which was to be the first charge on their net receipts. What was left of the profits after payment of this contribution was to be placed to railway reserves on the condition that if the amount available for transfer to the reserves should exceed in any year Rs. 3 crores, one-third of the excess should be paid to general revenues. This railway reserve is to be used to secure the payment of the annual contribution, to provide, if necessary, for arrears of depreciation and for writing down and writing off capital, and to strengthen generally the financial position of the railways. The effect of this arrangement upon the finances of the country is that the Indian tax-payer is now assured of a regular and growing contribution in relief of taxation from his investments in railways; while the task of maintaining a continuous financial policy and of distinguishing between a temporary and permanent surplus or deficit in accounts is immensely facilitated.

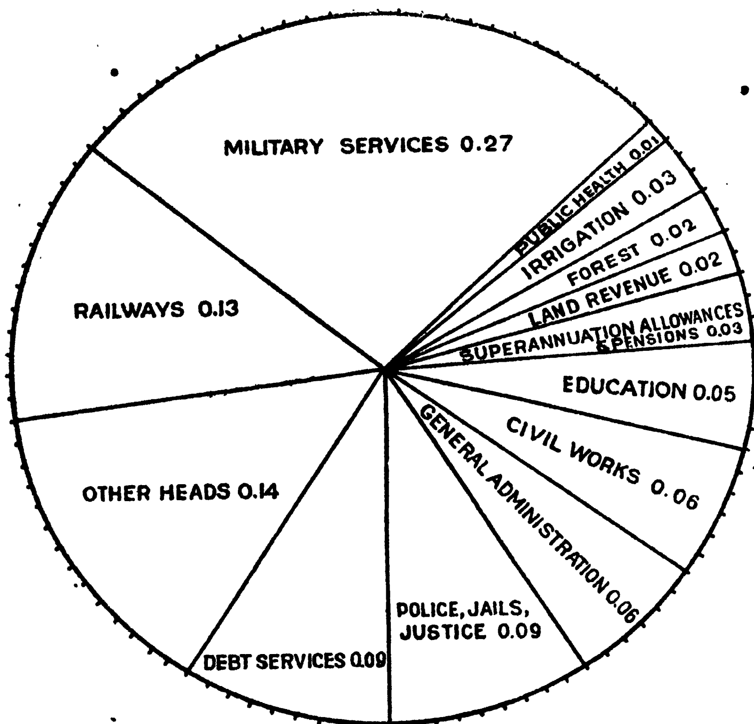


We can now turn to the finances of the year which, it is hoped, will be given some interest for the general reader by the foregoing prolegomena. The Railway Budget for 1928-29 is the first to be presented by Sir George Rainy, the present Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Council, and he was in the fortunate position of being able to present the accounts of a very successful year. The year 1927-28 was a record year for traffic and large reductions in the cost, both of carrying traffic and of repairing rolling stock, had been achieved. Also, the Railway Board now found themselves in a position to announce substantial reductions in rates and fares with the object of stimulating traffic.

DIAGRAM.

How each Rupee of Expenditure was made up in India 1926-27.

(Provincial and Central together.)



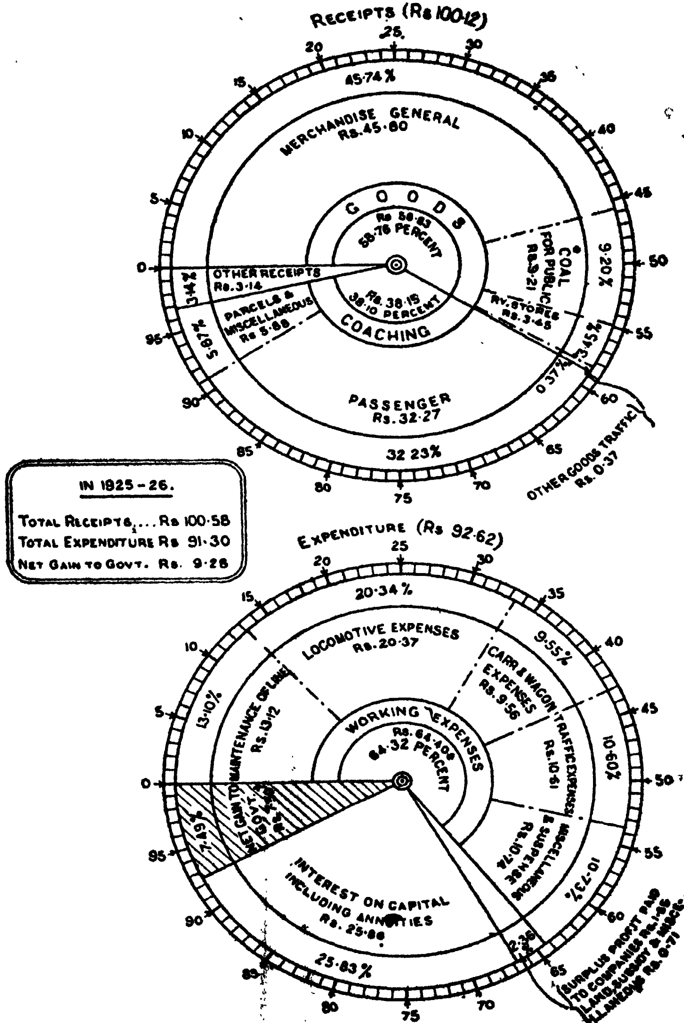
The Rupee of Expenditure 1926-27.

[The basis of reckoning is the same as that on which the accounts and estimates are prepared; working expenses of the Railway, Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs Departments, refunds and the like being deducted from revenue and not treated as expenditure.]

DIAGRAM.

Railway Receipts and Expenditure on State Owned lines in India in 1926-27.

FIGURES IN CRORES.



* The difference of Rs. 9·03 lakhs in expenditure is due to adjustments having been made in the State Railway Stores Accounts.

† The difference of Rs. 27·89 lakhs in net gain to Government is due to inclusion of Rs. 34·51 lakhs on account of net receipts from subsidised Railways, Rs. 68·67 lakhs on account of Miscellaneous Railway Receipts, Rs. 65·54 lakhs on account of expenditure charged to head 12-Miscellaneous Railway expenditure and Rs. 9·75 lakhs on account of other adjustments.

The final financial results of the year 1926-27 dispelled an apprehension which had been expressed in the previous budget that it might be necessary to draw 7 lakhs from the Railway Reserve, since the actual surplus was higher than the estimated surplus by no less than 1,50 lakhs. Dealing with the revised estimates for 1927-28, Sir George Rainy announced that the disastrous floods in Gujerat and Orissa had slowed up progress only for about a month, in July and August, and that by the end of October all anxiety about the financial results of the year had passed away. There was a great increase of traffic as compared with the previous year, yet in spite of this great increase in traffic, working expenses were expected to be 63 lakhs less than the estimate, chiefly on account of the drop of 11 annas per ton in the cost of coal and of various measures taken to secure economy. A particularly noteworthy feature of the year's working was the reduction under the head of Repairs and Maintenance of 70 lakhs, this in spite of the addition of between 600 and 700 miles of railroad, to be maintained. Interest charges amounted to 1,50 lakhs more owing to heavy capital expenditure on development, and depreciation charges during 1927-28 amounted to about 50 lakhs more than in the previous year. Thus, at the time when he presented his budget, Sir George Rainy expected the financial results of 1927-28 to be a gain of over 12¾ crores from commercial lines, that is, nearly 3·75 crores more than in the previous year. Of this gain 1⅔ crores would be absorbed by losses on the working of strategic lines, 6·36 crores were to go to general revenues, and 4·75 crores to the Railway Reserve. Sir George Rainy expected that by March the 31st, 1928, that is, the end of the financial year, the Railway Reserve would stand at 16 crores, a very satisfactory result, it will be admitted, of the four years' working since Railway Finances were separated from General Finances. Further, a balance of 9·27 crores was expected in the depreciation fund.

Sir George Rainy announced that the Government of India proposed to pass on some of these favourable results to the public in the shape of reduced third class passenger fares, parcel rates and rates on certain commodities over state-managed lines. From 51 miles and upwards the reduction in passenger fares would be 1/24th of an anna per mile on the East Indian, North Western and Great Indian Peninsula Railways. On the East Indian and North

Western Railways this meant a reduction of 13 per cent. for a journey of 300 miles, 16 per cent. for a journey of 500 miles and 20 per cent. for a journey of 900 miles. The corresponding percentages on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway are 11, 13 and 15. He also mentioned that the Railway Board proposed to discuss with the management of company-owned lines the question of reducing fares on them also in order to stimulate the growth of 3rd class traffic.

" Second in importance," he said, " comes a substantial reduction in the rates for parcels and luggage. The figures of past years clearly suggest that the present rates are operating to restrict traffic and in another respect the scale is unsatisfactory because it proceeds by 10 seers (a seer is 2 lbs.) at a time so that a parcel weighing 11 seers is charged the same as one weighing 20 seers. Instructions will be issued for the introduction of a revised scale with 5-seer instead of 10-seer divisions, and for a reduction of the rates by 15 per cent. The cost in a full year, if there were no increase in traffic, would be Rs. 74 lakhs, but we have every reason to expect a substantial increase.

In the case of goods rates, we propose four reductions which should be of substantial benefit to the poorer classes and to the agriculturist. At present on the State-managed railways kerosene is carried at a uniform rate which works out at 42 pies (a pie is approximately 1/12th of a penny) per maund (about 80 lbs.) per 100 miles. We propose to substitute a telescopic scale which fixes lower rates for all distances in excess of 300 miles and drops to 10 pies per 100 miles for distances in excess of 700 miles. This reduction means a decrease in freight of 16 per cent. for a haulage of 500 miles, 35 per cent. for 750 miles and 42 per cent. for 900 miles. The total cost is Rs. 28 lakhs a year with the present volume of traffic. In the second place, we propose to reduce the rates on manure and oilcake which vary at present on the State-managed railways, to the absolute minimum of a tenth of a pie per maund per mile. On the East Indian Rilway this means a reduction varying from 42 to 54 per cent. for distances of 500 to 900 miles. In a full year the cost is Rs. 15 lakhs, but more manure carried means larger crops and larger crops means more traffic for the railways, so that the indirect gain to the railways from the concession may in the long run be considerable. The third important reduction is in the rate for jagree. In this case also we propose to substi-

tute a telescopic scale for a uniform rate at a cost of about Rs. 10 lakhs in a full year. For distances in excess of 500 miles this means a reduction rising from 43 per cent. to 55 per cent. at 900 miles. Here also we look for a substantial increase in traffic. Finally, we propose to make a small adjustment in the rates on grain, pulses and seeds. At present the rates on the East Indian Railway up to 97 miles and on the North Western Railway up to 232 miles are higher than on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. We propose to remove this distinction at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs a year."

Stated in terms of financial details, all these concessions mean that the Government Railways are giving up in a full year Rs. 1,22 lakhs in passenger traffic earnings, Rs. 77 lakhs in other coaching traffic, and about Rs. 1,06 lakhs in goods earnings, that is Rs. 3,05 lakhs in all. It is anticipated, however, that these substantial reductions will have an immediate effect in stimulating the growth of traffic and that the actual loss will not be as great as that stated in the above figures. "We expect," continued Sir George Rainy, "that the loss of revenue will not exceed Rs. 2 crores in 1928-29, when the dates at which the reductions are likely to become effective and the probable increase in traffic are taken into account."

Following his announcement of the reductions in passenger fares and other rates, Sir George Rainy discussed the Railway Budget Estimate for 1928-29, and, after explaining its circumstances in some detail, he summed up by saying that he expected the total receipts for the year to amount to a little over Rs. 103 crores and the total charges (including the loss on the strategic railways) at Rs. 94 crores, leaving a final surplus of about Rs. 9 crores, of which general revenues would take Rs. 5½ crores and the railway reserve fund Rs. 3½ crores.

As regards capital expenditure during 1928-29, Sir George said that Rs. 28 crores will be allotted for this purpose, of which 15 crores were for open line works, 9 crores for new construction, and 4 crores for the acquisition of the Burma Railways on the expiration of the Company's contract at the beginning of 1929. This transaction being in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Burma Government and the Burma Legislative Council.

On the subject of new construction Sir George's remarks are of such great interest that they deserve to be quoted in full. He said:—

"When Sir Charles Innes spoke last year he expressed the hope that we should open nearly 900 miles of new line this year. We have not done quite so well as that, but we expect to open 636 miles and to raise that figure to about 800 miles next year. The mileage of our construction programme indeed has now reached a formidable total, for 50 projects, aggregating 2,600 miles, have already been sanctioned, and 40 others covering 2,000 miles are under examination. Where the projects are so numerous it is difficult to single out any of them for special mention, but of those which we propose to open next year, the most important perhaps are the Daltonganj-Barkakhana section of the Central Indian Coalfields Railway, the Kangra Valley line in the Punjab, and the Villupuram Trichinopoly line in Southern India. The lines which will still be under construction at the end of the year are for the most part short branches or feeder lines to the main system, but in various parts of the country there are special features. Thus in Burma and Assam we are constructing pioneer lines to open out rich but undeveloped country; in Southern India the branches will serve densely populated tracts where the traffic should at a very early date yield an ample return on the capital invested; in the Punjab they are for the most part cross connections running from east to west and linking up the existing lines most of which run from north to south; while in the Province of Sind we hope to commence the feeder lines which are the natural consequence of the construction of the Sukker Barrage. To attempt an enumeration of the various projects would serve no useful purpose, but I am confident that any one who studies the Railway Board's Memorandum and its Appendices will realise that they are fully alive to their responsibility for extending and improving the communications of India."

After the Railway Budget, with its record breaking figures and spectacular reductions in passenger fares and freight charges, the General Budget, which was presented to the Legislature on February the 29th, 1928, might, as Sir Basil Blackett himself said, be regarded as something of an anti-climax. It was not so in reality, for it continued the cheerful tale of surpluses, which India has perhaps begun now to regard as automatic forgetting the skilled and devoted labour which have been employed to make them possible. Further, it allowed for reductions in the customs tariff to the amount of nearly a crore of rupees, whilst imposing no new taxation of any sort. The absence of the spectacular, indeed, in such a budget as this, is amply outweighed by its inherent soundness and the national financial stability of which it is a proof.

After reviewing the actual final financial figures for 1926-27, which showed a net improvement of only 14 lakhs over the revised estimate—a very encouraging sign of improvement in budgetting methods—Sir Basil Blackett proceeded to review the conditions of the year 1927-28. During the first ten months the visible balance of trade was in favour of India by 37·24 crores as compared with 27·05 crores a year earlier. Both imports and exports of merchandise had increased in value by 8 per cent., whilst the net imports of treasury had diminished by 6½ crores. Prices were stable and the improved trade figures reflected the advantages of the stabilisation of the rupee. Sir Basil referred to the reductions in railway charges and said that these would give a new stimulus towards business and agricultural prosperity, and these were not the only indications that Indian commerce was now advancing steadily and that the effects of the post-war trade depression were being steadily dissipated.

Turning next to the revised estimates for 1927-28, the Finance Member said that in spite of large variations under individual heads, and the loss of 45 lakhs due to the abolition of import duties on mill stores and machinery in September, 1927, the net decrease in customs receipts would be only 10 lakhs since the stoppage of the leakage through the Kathiawar ports had benefited the Indian customs revenue appreciably. Both income-tax and the salt revenue yielded results below expectation, but on the other hand, railway contribution was greater by 88 lakhs than had been budgetted for. Military expenditure remained unchanged in spite of the fact that there had been some savings on account of the despatch of Indian

troops to China. These savings, however, had had to be spent on urgently needed modern equipments for the army. The net result of all this increase was that the total expenditure for 1927-28 stood at 127·74 crores and the total revenue at the same figure, including a transfer of 1·69 crores from the revenue reserve fund instead of 1·72 crores as originally estimated. This small variation in the net result was a further reason for congratulation on the success of the improved budgettary methods.

Sir Basil Blackett dealt next with the Ways and Means position. During 1927-28, he said, the Indian Government had had to meet 30 crores of capital outlay on railways and 2 crores on other forms of capital expenditure. Over provincial loans and drawings they had had to find 8 crores, and for the net discharge of debt, 25½ crores. Towards these ends, the Government of India had raised rupee and sterling loans which yielded 27¼ crores net, had obtained 6½ crores from Postal Cash Certificates and Savings Bank Certificates, had reduced their balances by 11¼ crores, and had met the rest from miscellaneous sources. In the forthcoming year, 1928-29, capital outlay on railways was estimated to amount to not more than 28 crores including 4 crores for the purchase of the Burma Railways and 4½ crores on other capital outlay. Provincial demands would be 7 crores and the net discharge of debt 19 crores. Cash balances could not be reduced by more than 2 crores and it had been decided that, after all other receipts had been taken into account, a loan of 32 crores would be needed, including 13 crores of new money.

Referring to borrowing operations during the current year Sir Basil said: "In our anxiety to guard the interests of the Indian tax-payer and in our desire not to disturb the market in Government securities which were being quoted at rather higher figures than we ourselves thought to be justified, we did not make the terms of our rupee loan as attractive as we possibly should have done, and the fact that it was a short-dated loan seems to have militated against complete success. In the result, we had to tide over temporary difficulties by various expedients. The re-introduction of Treasury Bills in India was in full accordance with our plans, as we deliberately desired to improve the financial facilities of the Indian money market and check seasonal fluctuations in the market for Government securities by this means. We found it necessary, in addition, to resort to external borrowing, first by rais-

ing sterling bills to the extent of £5 millions in England in July last, which have since been repaid, and later by the issue of a sterling loan of £7½ million about a month ago. Even so, the net cash receipts from the rupee and sterling loans aggregated only 27¼ crores which was only about 2 crores more than the net amount of debt discharged, and as much as 13 crores less than the amount required for railway and other capital outlay including that of Provincial Governments. It is no inconsiderable achievement to have financed a capital outlay of this magnitude in a year of rather difficult money conditions, in which our own calculations were upset by the fact that the capital expenditure was 6½ crores in excess of our original anticipations."

London remittances in the year 1927-28 would amount to above £30¾ million, of which £28¼ million were expected to be remitted through the market. For 1928-29 the remittance figure has been put tentatively at £36 million, which will enable the Indian Government to close the year with a normal balance. As in previous years, the Finance Member quoted the market prices of Indian Government securities in India to show how India's credit has improved in recent years and he said that the success of the sterling loan had further demonstrated the improvement of India's credit.

He next quoted debt statistics to show that the increase in the external indebtedness of the Indian Government during 1927-28 was considerably less than the amount of the sterling loan, and that in five years since the 31st March 1923, productive debt had increased by 189 crores and unproductive had diminished by 76 crores. By the end of the next year the debt due to 5 years of revenue deficits from 1918-19 to 1922-23 would be just about liquidated, and, if the present rate of progress were maintained, unproductive debt would vanish entirely in 12 years.

Turning to the estimates for the financial year 1928-29 Sir Basil Blackett announced that he expected a net customs revenue of 50·18 crores of rupees after allowing for a further fall in customs receipts of 40 lakhs on mill stores and machinery. Income-tax, he hoped, would yield 17 crores and salt 7 crores. The Government of India's progressive opium policy would involve them in a net loss of 25 lakhs and the railway contribution would be 5·48 crores only. Military expenditure would be 55·1 crores including 10 lakhs for expanding the territorial force. Discussing the figures of military expenditure, the Finance Member said that the Indian

Government had decided, after careful consideration, that it could not be reduced if India was to make reasonable provision for defence under modern conditions.

Under the head of debt service it was explained that after 81 lakhs had been allotted for premium on bonds maturing during 1928-29 and for 25 lakhs additional provision for bonus on Cash Certificates, the debt services still showed a saving of 67 lakhs, this being the result of the general debt and debt redemption policy of the Government of India. During the five years ending 1928-29, the saving on interest and deadweight debt had amounted to more than 3½ times the increase in provision for debt redemption and was over a crore more than the actual provision on this account in 1928-29. The cost of the civil administration showed a rise of 41 lakhs, but this included a number of items relating to beneficial services. Expenditure on the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department included over 14 lakhs for the further improvement of the conditions of service of the lower paid staff. The working of the Department showed a surplus of something less than Rs. 25,000 and therefore no reduction in postal or telegraph charges could be looked for.

In the final result the total revenue for 1928-29 was estimated at 132·23 crores and expenditure at 129·6 crores. Thus there would be a surplus of 2·63 crores if the portion of the provincial contributions, which was still unextinguished were recovered by the Government of India. Sir Basil Blackett, however, pointed out that the liability for bonus on Cash Certificates was accumulating and was estimated at 3¾ crores on the 1st October, 1927. As soon, therefore, as finances permitted some provision from the revenue over and above that for actual payments would be necessary to form a separate fund to enable this increasing liability to be met. But the surplus now disclosed could be treated as recurrent, since the budget included a special item of 81 lakhs for premium on bonds and since there ought to be further savings in interest charges and increased revenue from taxes on income. Even the customs revenue should improve, although it would be in the interests of Indian trade and industry to reduce the general revenue tariff as soon as the financial position allowed. On the whole, then, the Indian Government proposed that, having regard to their past commitments, 2·58 crores of this surplus should be utilized

for the complete and final extinction of provincial contributions leaving a small balance of 5 lakhs of rupees in the budget.

In concluding his budget speech Sir Basil Blackett said:—

"I think it is a budget which both the Government and the country can view with pleasure. We have consolidated the ground won last year and can now establish our friends and allies, the Provincial Governments, firmly and finally in the trenches which we won for them a year ago, but which have hitherto been debatable ground. The Provinces have now no further fears of counter-attack. They can proceed to carry out the great task allotted to them in the governance of India, with the knowledge that no part of the revenues at their disposal will be diverted to the Central Government's purse. The Central Government too has reached a new vantage ground, from which it can begin to survey the country ahead.........Intrinsically, the financial position of the Government of India seems to me to be sound and prosperous. From 1929-30 onwards, it will be the privilege of this House and of my friend and successor, Sir George Schuster, whose acceptance of the post is a matter of great personal satisfaction to me, to find no outside claimant to the recurring surpluses which I hope it will be their good fortune to enjoy in the coming years, and they will be free to turn their minds on the one hand to new directions in which money can be usefully laid out for India's advancement, and on the other hand to the re-adjustment of the burden of taxation and to those reductions of taxation, so welcome to tax-gatherer and tax-payer alike, which, apart from some minor cases and with the one big exception of the Cotton Excise Duty, have been beyond our reach in my term of office. I cannot more fittingly close my statement than with the prayer that no storm from without or from within may descend upon India to disturb the bright prospects of financial well-being to which she seems to-day to be justified in looking forward."

This was Sir Basil Blackett's last budget, for he left India on retirement at the beginning of April. In this and previous reports some idea has been conveyed of the amazing amount of achievement which he compressed into his term of office in India of a little over 5 years. He not only raised Indian finances from a state of dangerous depression into the position which they at present occupy, where they are the envy of practically every government in the world, but he carried out a number of valuable reforms and improvements in financial methods and machinery. He carried through the stabilisation of the rupee and his desire to achieve the crowning reform of handing over the control of Indian finance and currency to a Central Bank was frustrated by circumstances beyond his control. It is possible that future historians of India will see in his handling of the Public Accounts Committee one of his most valuable services to India. Throughout his term of office as Finance Member Sir Basil Blackett tried to invest this Committee with the status and powers enjoyed by its great prototype in England and the value of this part of his work will, it is hoped, grow and increase, although he himself has gone. By his restoration of her finances, he rendered services of incalculable value to India, and by his abolition of Provincial Contributions he has given to the Provinces large means for improving the wellbeing of their people. The future observer, as he looks about him in any part of British India, will see Sir Basil Blackett's monument in schools, hospitals, dispensaries, roads and the other beneficial works which he will have done so much to bring into being.



In last year's report mention was made of a Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, by which the Government of India proposed to implement what was by far the most important suggestion of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance. The proposal is not a new one, but the Hilton-Young Commission was the first to advocate it whole-heartedly, and to demonstrate effectively, after thorough examination of the subject, the connection between the function of gold in India and credit control and the correcting mechanism generally. The Gold Bullion Standard controlled by the Reserve Bank would give India a monetary system which would be complete, and, when properly understood would satisfy opinion in this country. Also, the crea-

tion of the Reserve Bank would constitute another step in India's progress towards autonomy. At present her currency policy is subject to control by the India Office acting through the Government of India, which is the currency authority in this country. In fact, the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, had it been passed into law, would have been a sort of financial and currency counterpart to the Government of India Act, 1919, for its ultimate effect would have been to remove the control of Indian currency from Whitehall and Delhi to the Indian Reserve Bank. Unfortunately, as we have already noticed at one or two places earlier in this report, the Bank Bill perished in the Legislative Assembly very largely owing to the excitement caused by the reaction in certain quarters in this country to the appointment of the Statutory Commission. However, since the Bill was one of the big measures of post-reforms politics and because of its peculiarly chequered career, it deserves a fairly extended mention in this report.

When last year's report was written the first Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill framed by the Government of India was being considered by a Joint Select Committee of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance had suggested for the bank a governing board of fifteen, including one Government official who should not have a vote. The remaining fourteen were to be Directors of the Bank and of these, five, including the Governor and the Deputy Governor, were to be nominated by the Government of India, whilst the remaining 9 were to be elected by the shareholders, since the capital of the Bank was to be share-capital. These proposals were all incorporated in the Bill, which was introduced into the Legislative Assembly in January 1927.

The Joint Select Committee held two sittings, one in Bombay from the 30th May to 4th June 1927 and the other in Calcutta from 18th to 25th July 1927. The majority of the Select Committee quickly disagreed with the proposals in two main particulars. One of these points of difference, namely: the desire of the majority to introduce a full value gold coin into the currency, need not occupy much attention, for it was on the other point of difference that the Reserve Bank Bill ultimately foundered. This was the preference of the majority for a State Bank rather than a shareholders' Bank. The majority adhered to their preference through-

out the Calcutta meeting and made the following proposals for the composition of the governing board. Only four of the Directors including the Governor and the Deputy Governor should be nominated by the Government of India whilst three each should be chosen by the elected members of the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures respectively. Of the remaining five, two each were to be elected by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, whilst the last place was to be filled by election by the Provincial Co-operative Banks. Accordingly, these proposals were incorporated in the Bill which was brought before the Assembly on August 29th. Sir Basil Blackett, however, opposed these majority proposals consistently and allowed it to be known that he would drop the Bill rather than allow it to be passed into law in a form which might make the policy and directorate of the Reserve Bank into objects of political controversy dependent on the changing fortunes of groups and parties in the Legislature. On August 29th, then, he moved that the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill be taken into consideration. In his speech he explained the points at issue between himself and those who opposed his original proposals and he put forward a scheme which, he claimed, was a fair reconciliation of the varying opinions which had been expressed. This scheme arranged for the representation of both Indians and Europeans on the governing board of the Bank, the former having a majority. Nine directors were to be elected by shareholders by the single transferable vote, a proceeding which would ensure representation of different opinions and interests among the shareholders. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Provincial Co-operative Banks were each to elect one director. Three directors were to be nominated by the Government of India—a proceeding which would fully protect the interests of agriculture and of localities and communities which otherwise might go unrepresented. Sir Basil argued that the Bank must be a Shareholders' Bank if the best and most representative board possible were to be secured. The Government of India opposed the election of directors by the Legislatures and competent business opinion was with the Government in this matter. He asked the Assembly not to risk for the sake of this one point a measure which was to transfer control over Indian currency and monetary policy from the Secretary of State and the Government of India to a non-official business institution

which would work along Indian lines and be a landmark not only in finance but also in the political and constitutional history of the Indian Empire.

An examination of these new proposals will show at once how far they go towards answering all legitimate criticisms, but there was a small but influential section in the Assembly which persisted both in the demand for a State Bank and in the demand for the election of a proportion of the directors by the various legislative bodies. The voting strength in the House was admitted by the most competent judges to be evenly divided between Sir Basil Blackett and his opponents, and it was impossible to say which way the division would have gone had the issue been put squarely to the vote. In any case, even if the Government had won, they would have done so by a narrow margin, perhaps indeed by the very narrowest margin possible. In these circumstances the Government had nothing to gain from taking such a decision, for, if it went against them, they lost their Bank Bill with all its great promise for the economic future of India, whilst if they won, the Bank would come into existence against the determined opposition of certain powerful interests both political and business, and, therefore, Sir Basil decided to try to come to some reasonable compromise with the opposition. On the third day of the debate he announced that the Government would give up the shareholders principle if a satisfactory substitute could be found. One of the leaders of the Congress Party, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, had already tabled an amendment to the Bill in which he proposed to replace the shareholders as electors by a system of electoral colleges. Sir Basil said that this suggestion made some appeal to him and that the Government of India were willing to accept it in principle provided their acceptance would result in the emergence of a Bill acceptable both to them and to the great majority of the House. Quite a number of members of the Assembly had their own solutions of the problem, which they were anxious to see accepted, but in the end it was the electoral college principle which was embodied in a scheme generally known as the "Stock-holders Scheme." According to this scheme the Reserve Bank was to be a State Bank with all its capital owned by the Government of India.

Government of India Reserve Bank stock bearing 5 per cent. interest was to be issued at par in amounts of Rs. 100 and multiples thereof to an aggregate amount not exceeding the capital of the

Bank. No one holder was to have more than Rs. 10,000 worth of stock and every holder had to be either domiciled or ordinarily resident in India. In each of the major provinces in India and in Delhi a register of stockholders was to be kept, and, provided there were at least 1,000 stockholders on the register, these were to be allowed to elect sixty trustees triennially, who should, in turn, elect one director of the Bank. Each stockholder was to have only one vote for the election of trustees, no matter what the amount of his holding might be. According to Sir Basil Blackett's stockholders scheme, therefore, the constitution of the governing board of the bank would be as follows:—One Governor and two Deputy Governors, one not voting; three directors elected by the Associated Chambers of Commerce, two by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, one director elected by the Provincial Co-operative Banks, ten by the Trustees, elected as described above, and four nominated by the Governor General in Council. The other conditions dealing with tenure of the office of Governor and so on, need not occupy us here.

It was at once obvious that this scheme commended itself to the great majority of the members of the Assembly, but, in view of its divergence in certain important particulars from the original Bill submitted to the Assembly, the Government of India decided not to proceed any further with it during the Simla session, but to consider the whole matter carefully at leisure. The announcement of this decision caused keen disappointment in the Assembly and a motion for the adjournment of the House was tabled by way of censure of the Government's action.

During the interval between the Simla session of 1927 and the Delhi session of 1928, the Government of India, after a careful study of all the circumstances and after Sir Basil Blackett had been to London to discuss them with the India Office, decided to come forward with a new Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill which reverted to the shareholders principle but retained many of the features of Sir Basl Blackett's suggested compromise. When this new Bill was sought to be introduced, however, the President of the Assembly refused his sanction to its introduction. He relied in his decision on the procedure of the House of Commons in analogous cases. The principle had been laid down by the speaker of the House of Commons that when essential alterations were to be made in any Bill which had come before the House, the proper

course was to ask leave to withdraw the original Bill and re-submit it as altered. This rule of procedure, said the President of the Assembly, applied with greater force to this case since material alterations were proposed.

In the circumstances the Government decided to proceed with the old Bill and to try to have it amended, where necessary, in the Council of State. But, as already stated, it had no chance in the peculiar temperament of the House, and after a number of divisions on the amendments to one of the clauses had been won by the Government, the former motion that the clause stand part of the Bill was lost in a snap division. As it was obvious that the opposition were not taking themselves or the Bill seriously, it was decided to adjourn it sine-die.



We said above that the Reserve Bank Bill foundered in the Statutory Commission storm, but it must not be argued from the manner in which the Assembly left the Bill to its fate that its members have no interest in the vital subject of the improvement and development generally of banking facilities in this country. On the contrary, members of the Assembly and the Council of State have on a number of occasions shown their interest in this matter, either by moving resolutions or asking questions. On the 10th February 1927, a Resolution was moved by Mr. S. N. Haji, a Bombay Member, recommending the appointment of a Commission to investigate the present position of banking institutions, facilities, and conditions in India, and to make recommendations for their improvement and expansion with particular reference to the provision in adequate quantity and appropriate form of the capital or finances necessary for the development of the industries and agriculture of India. The debate on this Resolution was not finished during the Session in which it was moved, and it was resumed on the 25th August 1927 at Simla, when a nominated member, Mr. K. C. Roy, moved an amendment to the Resolution which added a clause laying upon the proposed Commission the duty of reporting what measures, if any, are desirable to regulate and control banks and banking interests in India. After an interesting debate, in which members from different sides of the House took part, the Resolution as amended was adopted without a division.

Before we leave the question of banking in India it may be mentioned that one of the recommendations of the External Capital Committee of 1924 was that an Indian Institute of Bankers should be formed. This proposal met with considerable support from the Indian banking world, and the Indian Institute of Bankers has now come into existence.



The account given earlier in this chapter of the provincial loans fund, brief as it was, yet shows what an important part the fund plays in the financial organisation of this country. The latest year for which the funds have been audited and of which a report is available is 1926-27. During that year the Provincial Loans Fund advanced a sum of Rs. 7,29,95,000 to the provinces, of which Rs. 4,30,80,000, or 59 per cent. was for productive purposes, whilst the balance of Rs. 2,99,15,000 or 41 per cent. was for other purposes. The cost of new borrowing by the Government of India fell from 5½ per cent. in 1925-26 to 4¾ per cent. in 1926-27, and the rate charged by the fund to its clients was fixed at 5 per cent. for productive purposes and 5¼ per cent. for advances for other purposes.



The 1927 Rupee Loan which was open from the 18th to the 30th of July was a 4 per cent. tax-bearing issue repayable at par on the 1st August 1937, or at the option of Government, on or after the 1st August 1934, at three months' notice. The issue price was Rs. 94·8 per cent. giving a yield of nearly 5 per cent. inclusive of premium on redemption, assuming repayment in 1934, and about 4¾ per cent. if repaid in 1937.

Subscriptions to the loan were payable in cash, in 6 per cent. bonds, 1927, or in 5½ per cent. war bonds, 1928. In exchange for each Rs. 100 of 6 per cent. bonds, 1927 and 5½ per cent. war bonds, 1928, tenderers were given Rs. 100 of the new loan and a cash bonus of Rs. 6-4-0 and Rs. 12 respectively.

Conditions for the loan were less favourable than in preceding years and the Government of India considered that it would be impossible to obtain their requirements by the flotation of a long-term issue at prices approximately equivalent to the market rate. They decided, therefore, to confine the loan to a short-term issue mainly for the conversion of early maturities. As the 1927 bonds

were due to mature at the end of September, the apprehended stringency was an obvious inducement to holders of these bonds to retain them to maturity, so that material conversions were improbable. The applications for the loan amounted to Rs. 19,53,79,100 of which Rs. 8,21,14,200 was for cash, Rs. 7,20,39,200 by tender of 1927 bonds, and Rs. 4,12,25,700 by tender of 1928 bonds.



The experiment in the separation of Audit from Accounts, which is now proceeding in the United Provinces was fully described in an earlier report where its importance as a preliminary step in a possible financial reform of much political significance was explained. During the year under review, the scheme is reported to have worked well but its extension to other Provinces is not likely in the immediate future.

CHAPTER VIII.

External Relations, Military, Aerial and Naval Affairs.

The traditional isolation of the East and particularly of India is now a thing of the past. For centuries after Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape and discovered afresh—as many predecessors of his from some unknown mariner of the Chalcolithic people onwards had done—a sea route from the west to India, this country remained divided from Europe by a broad gulf of time. Half a year or more it took the infrequent ships from England to sight the Malabar Coast, and until the coming of steam the gulf remained as broad as ever, impassable except by those few whom duty, or the quest for fortune, impelled to brave the long journey to the distant, half fabulous East. But in the Comet steamed down the Clyde out of the mediaeval into the modern age which did not begin until mechanical invention started the process of annihilating time and space and transforming the conditions of human existence. Karachi is now within 60 or so flying hours of London, and the submarine cable long ago made England and India one as far as the interchange of news and information is concerned. Railways, steamships, and the immediate transmission of news, have for many years past joined India to the general economic system of the world and made her one of the constituents of the world market. In these material things, then, the evidence of our senses is proof of the assertion with which this chapter opens. But its deeper meaning is not quite so obvious. For years after the establishment of British Rule, India remained an essentially isolated, self-centred political and cultural system. With the affairs of the outside world, and even with those of the rest of the British Empire she had no concern, and it was not until after the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown that her educational system and the growth of a habit of overseas travel by her people gradually broke down some of the barriers to mental and spiritual intercourse with the western world. Of the forces which have shaped the events of Indian history

and determined the conditions of Indian life during the past half century, the two most vital have been first the process of mechanical invention, which by making travel and communications between the West and the East speedy and certain, has brought India within the orbit of western ideas, and second, India's reaction to this process with many results political, cultural, racial and economic, to trace which will be the task of some historian of the future. And of this process no part is more important than the steady growth of India's interest in affairs, particularly political affairs, outside her own borders. In a sense she has been concerned with the external affairs of the United Kingdom and the British Empire ever since her government passed into British hands. But this concern was only remote and accidental. Until recently the people of India could not feel that they had any living interest in such matters since they had no voice in them and were not even in direct contact with them. Since the war, however, her improved international status, her growing economic stake in the world, and her representation in the Imperial Conferences have provided her with both the incentive and the need for taking a close interest in world politics and affairs. Further her international status is different now from what it was in 1914, for she attained original membership of the League of Nations as one of signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. In those negotiations His Majesty King George V was represented for India by the Right Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montague, M.P., His Secretary of State for India, and Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C., Maharaja of Bikanir. India thus obtained separate representation and became an original member of the League of Nations as a result of her services during the war. Again, the presence of large numbers of her nationals in various parts of the British Empire has forced her to take an interest in the domestic politics of the Dominions and Crown Colonies, and in Imperial politics in general, especially when these are concerned with the Near East and Asia. Thus, as one of the members of the British Commonwealth, and now as a member of the League of Nations, India has found her intrest insensibly widened and attracted outwards until very few parts of the world are left in which she has no interests of any kind.

Turning now from this wider topic, we see that India has her own external interests which are peculiar to herself and which fall broadly into two classes sharply distinguished from each other. There are first her relations with her immediate neighbours on her landward side, and secondly her guardianship of the interests of her people overseas, most of whom are living in some part or other of the British Empire. The problems raised by this second class, as already indicated, are ultimately problems of Imperial politics, whilst the former resolve themselves primarily into problems of defence. This latter dictum does not mean of course that India constantly apprehends danger from all her neighbours across her land frontiers. Such a notion is far from the truth as the following brief description will show.

The land frontiers of India are about 6,000 miles in length. The boundary of Indian Baluchistan marches with Persia on the West and with Afghanistan on the North, the three countries meeting at the famous mountain of the Black King (Koh-i-Malik-Siah) the most westerly point of India. From this lonely peak starts the Durand line, which, leaving Baluchistan at the Gumal river, runs some hundreds of miles north by east demarcating the boundary between Afghanistan and India, and for a considerable distance bordering the well-known belt of Pathan tribal territory which since 1894 has been formally included in India. Tibet borders about 1,500 miles of India's frontier and beyond Burma, our frontier divides us for about a thousand miles from Chinese territory. South of the Chinese frontier, Burma touches part of French Indo-China for a hundred miles and then marches for 600 miles with Siam.

Any study, however brief, of North-West Frontier history and policy, will show the North-West Frontier problem becoming more and more complex and difficult as communications improve and weapons of precision are perfected. It is usual to regard the North-Western Frontier problem as being concerned only with the relations between the Government of India and the Warlike tribes who inhabit the stretch of difficult mountain country between the administrative border and the Durand Line. But, in truth, these are nothing more than one factor in a problem of far wider scope. Leaving aside the domestic question of the most desirable form of Government for the North-West Frontier Province, a question about which there has been some controversy since the inauguration

of the reformed constitution in the other provinces of India and which, as we have seen in the first chapter, is now a factor of much importance in the Hindu-Muhammadan problem, there is also the international aspect of the problem and the vital military problem with which the other aspects of the frontier policy are intimately bound up.

From the dawn of history the North-West Frontier has been the gateway into India through which have poured Persians, Greeks, Scythians, and Muhammadans. Before the keys of the gate passed into British hands with the conquest of the Punjab in 1849, the threat of an invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte and the ambitious schemes of the Emperor Paul of Russia had caused the British to look anxiously to the North-West and begin their North-West Frontier policy untimely with embassies to Persia and Afghanistan. Malcolm and Elphinstone were the forerunners of a long line of distinguished "politicals" who for the past three or four generations have been both the instruments and the makers of British policy on the North-West Frontier. The maintenance of a sound policy on the North-West Frontier in India must always hold a foremost place among the pre-occupations of any Indian Government.

The day-to-day frontier problem is provided by the relations between the Government of India and the tribes who live between the administrative border and the Durand Line, and is a problem partly diplomatic, or, as it is called in India, "political," and partly military. The political officers guide the tribes as far as they can along the path of peace and friendliness with India, whilst the various armed civil forces on the frontier supported when necessary by the troops stand by to repel raids or more serious aggressive actions by the tribesmen. The military history of the frontier has been adequately written more than once, but its "political" history still remains unchronicled as a whole. A ruthlessly compressed summary of this history is given below, but first it will be as well to describe briefly the physical features of the North-West Frontier.

The North-West Frontier, as the term is commonly understood, means the whole tract of country which runs from the Hindu Kush in the north down to the Arabian Sea, including the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. This territory lies mainly to the West of the Indus. The Hazara District, it is true, lies east

of the river, but geographically and ethnically it belongs partly to Kashmere and partly to the Punjab, and the tribes on its border, who are mostly somewhat backward off-shoots of the great Yusafzai tribe, do not present such a formidable problem as do the war-like and well-armed people on the borders of the four trans-Indus Districts. In this large area we distinguish the five settled districts of the frontier province and the so-called trans-border, that is, the stretch of mountain country between the administrative border and the Durand Line whose inhabitants provide what we have called the day-to-day problem of the frontier. Stretching all along the administrative border and, thrusting forward into the hills here and there, as in the Malakand, and in the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi and Razmak valleys, and along the Zhob Road which runs through the Sherani country south of Waiziristan are military cantonments, or posts held by regulars, militia, Frontier Constabulary, or Khassadars, whilst at the north and south respectively of the long line stand the two great bastions—Peshawar and Quetta.

The transborder tribes are linked to each other from North to South, and military operations against any one of them are apt to produce sympathetic effects among the others. These tribes are among the hardest fighters in the whole world and only picked and highly trained troops can compete with them on any thing like equal terms in their own hills. They are believed to number nearly three millions, of whom at least half are males and of the latter close on three quarters of a million are regarded as adults and fighting men. Their armament has vastly increased within the last few years, and as long ago as 1920 there were believed to be not less than 140,000 modern rifles in tribal territory. The Mahsuds alone can arm effectively about 12,000 men, out of a total of 16,000, whilst the Wazirs can similarly arm 10,000 out of a total of 23,000 fighting men. The difficulty of the military problem presented by the frontier tribes can thus be appreciated.



It is possible to distinguish two different parts of the trans-border which present two somewhat dissimilar sets of conditions. One part is the territory which stretches from north of the Kabul River to Waziristan, whilst the second is Waziristan itself. The relations between the Indian Government and the tribes inhabiting

the first of the above divisions have in recent years been satisfactory on the whole. North of the Kabul River are great chiefs like the Mehtar of Chitral, the Nawab of Dir, and the Wali of Swat. These may fight among themselves, but they all desire friendly relations with India. Trade between this section of the transborder and India is active and the Swat River canal finds employment for many hardy spirits who might otherwise make a living by committing crime inside British India. South of the lands of these great chiefs are the Mohmands, Afridis, and Orakzais, all of whom have far too many connections with India to fight except on any but the most serious grounds. Waziristan, however, until very recently presented a very different face. Its people are fanatical and intractable to a degree, and had until a few years ago come less under British influence than any other of the great transborder tribes. The Indian Government have conducted seventeen active operations against them since 1852, and four since 1911, the latest of which provided the most desperate and costly fighting in all the history of the North-West Frontier. Also as one goes from north to south of Tribal Territory, one finds that the constitution of tribal society grows steadily more and more undisciplined as one approaches Waziristan, where, until the last few years, a state of chaotic license prevailed in which every man was a law to himself and a well-aimed bullet was more effective than any consideration of right and justice.

From the Sikhs, the British inherited only a haphazard, unscientific, and ill-defined frontier line. They took over no policy or system of understandings or agreements, and for a whole generation the Indian Government limited its frontier policy to abstention from interference in the troubled affairs across the administrative border, tempered by fleeting punitive expeditions against individual tribes when necessary. But the advance of Russia in Central Asia and the ambiguous behaviour during the seventies of last century of an Amir of Afghanistan emphasised once again the importance of the latter country to Indian frontier policy, whilst the long and mostly scholastic dispute between the supporters of the rival 'forward' and 'close border' policies had at any rate made clear the importance of the transborder tribes in the event of India's having to conduct military operations west of the administrative border. These things, fortified by Major Sandeman's striking success in conciliating the hitherto hostile

Baluch tribes to the south, a success which had already become evident by the end of the seventies, brought about a change in the Government of India's views on frontier policy. They began to realise that they ought at any rate to know something of what was happening in the frontier hills and that they ought if possible to try to keep friendly relations with the tribes. The establishment of the Khyber Agency at the end of the seventies was the first step in a new policy which has arrived, *viâ* Lord Curzon's memorable Frontier settlement, at the policy which is now being followed in Waziristan, that is, in the most intractable and difficult part of the frontier. This policy is a development of Lord Curzon's policy, which, in its turn was an adaptation of Sandeman's methods in Baluchistan to the different conditions of the North-West Frontier. The essence of Sandeman's system was friendship with and support of the tribal chiefs so long as they behaved well, and the provision of employment for the tribesmen in levies, police, and other forms of service. Sandeman, in fact, gave both the Baluch chief and his followers material incentives to good behaviour, and a stake in peace and order. A part of Baluchistan was taken under direct British control and British influence was established throughout the rest of the country. Lord Curzon's settlement has been well described as a mixture of the Sandeman and 'close border' systems. The tribesmen were paid to protect their own country and the Indian border, and regular troops were withdrawn from advanced positions and replaced by tribal militias. But there was no occupation of tribal country and no attempt at any administration, however loose, up to the Durand Line except in the Wana, Tochi, and Kurram Valleys where an informal administration on lines suitable to tribal conditions met with much success. Thus the North-West Frontier was not "Sandemanised" by Lord Curzon. Until the outbreak of the Great War, this policy served its purpose admirably, but during the great unrest from 1914 onwards, the Curzon system, like so many other older and more majestic institutions, broke under the mighty pressure. All through the War, it was a question, at any rate on the Waziristan side, of holding on grimly and waiting for better days. The third Afghan War in 1919 sent along the whole frontier a new wave of unrest which broke in Waziristan in the bitterest and most determined fighting which the Government of India have ever had to undertake on the North-West Frontier. When peace was res-

tored once more it was realised that the time had come to try to settle the "political" part of the Frontier problem once and for all, and that the attempt should begin in the old frontier storm-centre Waziristan.



The new policy is essentially positive and constructive in character. It is a forward policy in the very best meaning of the word, for it is not a policy of military conquest, but of civilisation. Its central features are the opening of Waziristan to civilising influences and giving to the tribes a stake in the administration of law and order. Since 1920, fine highroads have been driven through the hills of Waziristan linking the transborder posts with military posts in the rear, and tribal levies or Khassadars, finding their own rifles and ammunition, have been enrolled to police the country. Thus the spirit of self-government among the tribes of Waziristan and their sense of responsibility will be kept alive, whilst British influence and economic forces will work steadily to destroy the causes which for centuries have kept these virile people as murderers and robbers. We shall see shortly what measure of success has already attended this policy, but first we may glance quickly at the existing system of border defence in order to complete this part of our survey of frontier policy.

The Civil Defence forces of the North-West Frontier Province fall into two main categories—those which are established on the settled side of the border and those which are definitely a trans-frontier corps. Of the former, there are first the village pursuit parties, or *Chighas,* who are obliged both by law and by custom to turn out for defence or pursuit whenever a raid occurs. Government provides each village in the raiding area with a certain number of rifles for the use of the *Chighas,* but these are otherwise entirely unorganised and are not in the service of the Crown.

To co-operate with these *Chighas* when more prolonged operations are necessary, selected members of the village communities were organised into levies, drawn from the same sources as the *Chighas,* but pledged to full or part time service, and receiving arms, ammunition, and pay from the Indian Government, either directly or through the local Khans who often act as both officers and organisers of the corps.

The District Police, of course, exist on the border just as in every other part of British India, but the unsettled conditions there render it necessary for them to be better armed than other civil police forces; otherwise their work differs little from that of the District Police in other provinces.

But the back-bone of the defence organisation on the administered side of the border is the Frontier Constabulary. This force stands between the Police and the regular military forces, and its main function is the prevention of raids and the capture of raiders and outlaws. It patrols the border and ensures the safety of roads and communications generally. The British officers are members of the Imperial Indian Police seconded from their own service. Its posts are mainly on the edge of administered territory, but many of its operations take place across the border.

The Trans-Frontier Civil Corps are three—the Kurram Militia, the Tochi Scouts and the South Waziristan Scouts. The Kurram Militia is a force mainly raised locally to preserve order in the Kurram Valley, which is only a semi-administered area and contains no other forces of the Crown except those connected with a small air base at Arawali near Parachinar. The Tochi Scouts and the Waziristan Scouts are intended to maintain British political control in North and South Waziristan respectively and to prevent raiding through Waziristan into the settled districts. They recruit only a very small proportion of local tribesmen. All three corps are officered by British officers seconded from regiments of the Indian Army.

The Khassadars are tribal levies raised for the Agency tracts to act as tribal police and to protect communications through their tribal territory. They are much more highly paid than either the Levies or the Police or Constabulary, partly because they have to find all their arms, ammunition and equipment, and partly in order to attract the best men to the service and to secure the good behaviour of themselves and their fellow tribesmen through fear of loss of a considerable income. Hitherto, they have been employed only in the Khyber Agency, where they number nearly 1,400 men, in the Kohat Pass, through which runs the road from Peshawar to Kohat the next British district to the south, and in Waziristan, where the length of the new communications and roads makes it necessary to employ over 3,500 men.

It is unfortunately not possible for us to say this year, as we did last year, that the condition of the Frontier has been one of almost absolute peace, for apart from the expulsion of Hindus from the Khyber, the Indian Government came into conflict on the Peshawar Border with certain sections of the Mohmand tribe whose country was the scene of disturbances in June, 1927. During the previous month, an ill-affected Mullah, after a vigorous course of preaching, succeeded in gathering an armed force—not at all easily, it might be mentioned, owing to the opposition of a famous old frontier firebrand, the Haji of Turangzai—and on the 4th of June it crossed the border and attacked our outpost line. Air action was taken against these hostile tribesmen on the 6th and 7th of June and they were dispersed after suffering about 30 casualties. The Royal Air Force incurred no casualties and the ground troops which had been gathered had no need to go into action owing to the refusal of the enemy to show himself after his introduction to the Air Force. Though the circumstances were perhaps too unusual to permit the drawing of sweeping conclusions, food for thought is given by the swiftness with which this minor campaign was brought to an end and also the fact that the rising was suppressed with no casualties on the side of the Crown forces and very few on the side of the enemy.



South of Peshawar there has taken place on the Kohat Border a certain amount of trouble with which however the Indian Government had no primary concern. The first instance of this occurred inside the Orakzai tribe, who inhabit the mountains to the South and West of Afridi country. This tribe, like one or two other of the frontier tribes has members of both of the two sects of Muhammadans—the Shias and Sunnies—within its ranks. There is an age-old religious feud between these two sects which has led to brisk fighting between them on many occasions since the British first came into touch with them, and on more than one occasion in the past the leading Shia Sayid has been forced to take refuge in British territory on account of the aggression of the Tirah Sunnies. During the year under review, about the middle of August, 1927, a large Afridi force assisted by Sunni Orakzais attacked the Shiah Orakzais, overran their country by the 23rd August and drove most of the clan out of tribal territory into

the Kohat district. Having done this, the Sunnies divided up the conquered lands among themselves. The losses in this tribal fighting were very heavy: the Shiahs alone owned to 125 killed, and they admittedly gave at least as good as they got. The stubbornness and valour of their resistance were remarkable. The Chief Commissioner lost no time in taking up the role of peacemaker and threw his influence on the side of the restoration of normal conditions in Tirah. After protracted negotiations, the Afridis agreed to surrender their claims to the Shiah Orakzai lands conquered by them, but the Sunni Orakzais, up to the time of writing, have maintained their unwillingness to accede to the wishes of Government. There are signs, however, that the expelled tribesmen are obtaining a growing sympathy among the Pathan community at large, and influential Afridi and other leaders are exercising their influence with the chief Orakzai priest, Mullah Mahmud Akhunzada, the organiser of the attack, to procure their return to their hearths and homes.

South, again, of the Orakzais the Kurram was the scene during the year of some liveliness, for there was considerable raiding and counter raiding on the Kurram Border in pursuance of the old feud existing between the Jajis of Afghanistan and the Turis of the Kurram valley. In April it was reported that the villagers of Pathan territory had destroyed the headworks of the Titam Channel, which is situated in British territory close to the border, and that they were resisting the attempts of the Turis to repair the damage done. A meeting took place between our Political Agent in the Kurram and the Hakim of Chamkanni, an Afghan Official, on the 1st of May, and as a result the work of repair was successfully carried out.

Several subsequent affrays took place between the parties, of which the most serious occurred on the 26th of July, 1927, in the vicinity of Kotri village. A joint Anglo-Afghan commission is shortly to assemble on the border to settle past tribal claims and counter claims and to effect, if possible, a permanent settlement of Jaji-Turi affairs.

❦ ❦ ❦

But any historian of Indian North-Western Frontier affairs in these days is justified in regarding Waziristan as still the most important part of the subject, and our introductory account of

frontier history and affairs will show the reason why. It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to be able to report that the great civilizing and pacifying policy which the Government have been carrying on for some years in this ancient storm centre is still proceeding steadily towards its goal. During the year under review Waziristan has been in the fortunate position of having no serious instances of turbulence to record, and there has been a continuation of the progressive improvement in conditions, which augurs well for the maintenance of peace. Many tours which would have been impossible four or five years ago have been made by Political officers, including one to the summit of the Pre Ghal, the highest mountain in Waziristan. Two important roads, Wana-Sarwekai and Idak-Thal, have been put in hand and it is hoped to make substantial progress with their construction during 1928-29. A reassuring feature about these works is the readiness with which the Mahsud and Wazir tribesmen, who of late years have not taken kindly to honest toil, have participated in the labour, thereby diverting considerable funds from alien to tribal pockets.

No marked activity in the matter of Education in tribal country took place during 1927, but the Government of India have under consideration an extensive scheme, which, it is hoped, will be put into effect without delay, for a five-year programme for the opening of schools in tribal country. All accounts point to a growing demand in these areas, and particularly in the previously backward Waziristan, for the benefits of education.

There is nothing of any particular interest to mention in connection with the five settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province except, perhaps, a serious fire which broke out in the most densely populated quarter of Peshawar City on the morning of October 7th, 1927. The fire raged for 24 hours before it was brought under control. Two persons were killed and 17 injured, and property estimated at approximately one crore of rupees was destroyed. The behaviour of the population throughout was admirable.



In Baluchistan the year was one of chequered fortunes from the economic point of view, but satisfactory as to administrative conditions. Both the spring and the autumn sowings had to be restricted through lack of rain, whilst a severe plague of locusts did

immense damage in the autumn. Over a good deal of the province, therefore, cultivators were hard hit and Government advances had to be made somewhat freely in order to enable them to purchase seed grain and cattle and to improve their sources of water-supply. However, law and order were not affected by these not inconsiderable calamities, and, although the usual incidents associated with a wild and nomad population living on a sparsely inhabited border were not entirely absent, their number was not excessive.

India's relations with Persia have remained friendly throughout the year and Negotiations are still proceeding between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Persia in respect of the Aerial route to Karachi. There is little to report in connection with the Persian Gulf. Early in 1927 the abduction of three Hindu boys from Karachi and their sale in the Gulf was brought to the notice of the Indian Government. Immediate action was taken and through the efforts of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf all three boys were recovered and sent back to Karachi. A searching enquiry into the alleged existence of a regular traffic of this sort, established the absence of anything like a regular traffic in slaves from India whether from the British India or the Indian States of Kalat (including Kech Mekran) and Las Bela, and demonstrated the success of the Indian Political authorities in the Gulf in rescuing the few individual Indians who were kidnapped into slavery on the Arab coast. Steps were taken to ensure further co-operation in cases of this kind between the Indian authorities and British officials in the Persian Gulf.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Denys Bray, paid a flying visit during the year to the Gulf to inspect the British Agencies there.

Cordial relations continue to be maintained with the neighbouring Kingdom of Nepal. His Highness Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, the distinguished veteran Prime Minister of Nepal, though not in the best of health, accepted an invitation to visit India, and came privately to Calcutta in December, 1927. Unfortunately His Highness's health precluded the possibility of a public visit, but it is hoped that it will be possible for him to give



Some Released Chinghpaw Children.

India an opportunity of offering him a suitable welcome on some future occasion.

The first railway connecting India with Nepal was opened by His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal on the 16th February 1927, in the presence of a large gathering of Nepalese notables and officials.



Conditions for the 1926 Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina were on the whole good, and the Hedjaz Government succeeded admirably in their prime responsibility of enabling the pilgrims to reach Mecca and return from it again in safety. The pilgrimage was also comparatively free from disease, and for this too the Hedjaz authorities deserve credit. Their success in this matter was largely due to satisfactory arrangements for the supply of food.

In February 1927 His Majesty's Government announced their decision to assume responsibility for the political and military control of Aden with effect from the 1st April, 1927, and arrangements to give effect to this decision are in train.



The two previous numbers of this report have both contained references to the abolition of slavery in one or other of the areas on India's perimeter, and it is satisfactory to know that this humane work has further progressed during the year under review. On the confines of Burma in the East, in Chitral on the North, and in Baluchistan on the West, slave releasing operations in various forms have been carried on. On the Burmese Frontier the area known as the Triangle, that is, a tract of country on the north lying between the Mali Hka and the H'Mai Hka rivers, which are the two main tributaries of the Irrawaddy has again been the theatre of operations. The expedition which visited the Triangle last open season succeeded in releasing over 4,000 slaves, but the results were unfortunately marred by a treacherous attack resulting in the death of a most promising officer and of two loyal and brave members of the Burma Military Police. Measures are being continued to free the remaining slaves and to prevent those emancipated from relapsing into their former condition.

Slaves released in the Hukawong valley during the previous season, as described in the Report for 1925-26 were found to be

comfortably settled in newly established villages and appeared quite contented. The work of consolidating the results already attained is going on.

In Chitral efforts are being made by His Highness the Mehtar to put an end to the "Khanazad" system. The process, however, must necessarily be a gradual one, for there is no land to spare for the support of the emancipated serfs. The method which His Highness is pursuing at present is to order the landholders, who are the feudal chiefs of the Khanazads, to set aside a certain amount of land for these in their own villages. The Khanazads are thus enabled to become tenants in their own right, though they have to continue to work for their old masters for some time longer.

In last year's report an account was given of the promulgation of a decree by His Highness the Khan of Kalat abolishing slavery throughout his dominions. During the year, the chief event in Kalat was the implementing of this decree. Both the Political Agent in Kalat and the Chief Officer of the Kalat State made a number of extensive tours in connection with this work and the process of turning the agricultural slaves into tenants and of the liberation of their wives and families proceeded smoothly. The freeing of domestic slaves was not so easily achieved. It may however now be confidently asserted that the liberation of slaves of all kinds throughout the State has been both successful and complete, and such has been the thoroughness with which His Highness's orders have been carried out and of their effect upon the minds of the people that only one attempt of evasion of the law has since come to light.

Lastly, the system of slavery has been disavowed by two of the greatest of the Baluch tribes the Marris and the Bugtis. In both these countries slaves had existed for a very long period. They were for the most part descendants of captives taken in war. While their physical condition and treatment was by no means bad, their social life had sunk to a very low state. In October of this year the Marri and Bugti Tumandars, as the Baluch tribal chiefs are called—signed agreements accepting the principle of abolition of slavery throughout their countries. There is no doubt that the promulgation of this reform was strongly opposed by the tribesmen and much credit is due to the Tumandars for having so far overcome the prejudices of their tribesmen.

Relations between India and Afghanistan remained cordial throughout the year.



As far as the relations between the Indian Government and the Indian States are concerned the outstanding event was the appointment by the Secretary of State of a Committee " to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States, with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, and usage, sufference and other causes; and, secondly, to enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States, and to make any recommendations that they may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment." The Committee which is under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., late Governor of Burma, has as its members—Colonel the Hon'ble Sidney Peel, D.S.O., and W. S. Holdsworth, K. C., Vinerian Professor in English law and as its Secretary, Lieut.-Colonel G. D. Ogilvie, C.I.E., of the Indian Political Department. The Committee toured in a number of Indian States during the cold weather of 1927-28 and left in April 1928 for England where more evidence on the subject matter of the enquiry will be heard.



Such is the record of the year in the first of the two aspects into which Indian external affairs are divided. The second of these aspects is made up of the affairs of Indians overseas, which continued to be satisfactory during the year under review. But before turning to them we may with advatage review the most important features of Indian emigration.

Generally speaking, this has been of two kinds. Unskilled labour has for very many years gone abroad either under now obsolete system of indenture, as to Natal, the West Indies, Fiji, and Mauritius, or under some special system of recruitment such as was adopted for emigrants for Ceylon and Malaya. The second kind of emigration, which naturally followed the first when it had attained sufficient dimensions, is the emigration of skilled workmen and members of the professional classes. The whole emigration policy of the Indian Government was altered during 1922 by the Legislature and embodied in a new Emigration Act which pro-

claimed assisted emigration of unskilled labour to be unlawful, except for such countries, and on such terms and conditions as may be specified by the Governor General in Council. Any notification made by the Governor General in Council under the Act must be laid in draft before, and approved by, both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. A Standing Emigration Committee composed of 12 members of the Legislature is appointed every year to advise the Government of India on all major emigration questions. Thus the Indian Legislature can now effectively control the organised emigration of unskilled labourers, whose conditions have markedly improved since the passing of the Act.

The number of Indians now settled abroad is approximately 2,400,000, of which no fewer than 2,300,000 are in the British Empire. It will be seen, therefore, that such problems as arise in connection with the settlement of Indians overseas are largely inter-Imperial problems, and of these the most thorny have arisen in certain parts of the Empire out of the question of the status of Indian settlers in the country of their adoption. In British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, Indian settlers have exactly the same status as any other British citizens. In Ceylon and Mauritius also, under their present constitutions, there is no discrimination against Indians on the ground of race. So far as Crown Colonies and Mandate Territories are concerned, the place where the interests of Indian emigrants and those of other settlers have come into the sharpest conflict in recent years is Kenya, but perhaps the most delicate and difficult of all the negotiations which the Government of India have lately had to undertake on behalf of their nationals overseas have been those with the Government of South Africa.

It would be idle to deny that there are some parts of the British Empire where the treatment of Indians is not consistent with the position of India in the Empire or with their own status as British subjects. Naturally enough this is peculiarly irritating to proud and sensitive people like the Indians, and its re-actions on the internal politics of India have been serious in the past. The Self-Governing Dominions, of course, are themselves responsible for the way in which Indians within their confines are treated, but the people of India can hardly be expected to appreciate this fact dispassionately, and their irritation at the grievances of their fellow-countrymen in the Empire is apt to be expressed against

Great Britain and the Indian Government. More particularly is this so when grievances arise among Indian settlers in the Crown Colonies, whose governments occupy a different position from those of the Dominions *vis-à-vis* His Majesty's Government. The importance to the whole Empire of the problems which have arisen in connection with Indian Emigration has received recognition in successive Imperial Conferences from that of 1921 onwards, and a hasty survey of the recent history of Indian emigration affairs as far as they concern other parts of the Empire will help towards an appreciation of their present state.

The denial of their right to the franchise, and the conditions under which they are allowed to immigrate, and obtain and retain domicile, and, in certain parts of Africa, their right to hold land, to enjoy trading facilities, and to escape from compulsory segregation, have been some of the principal grievances of Indian settlers in other parts of the Empire. As far as the Self-Governing Dominions are concerned, the Reciprocity Resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1918 affirmed the right of each community of the British Commonwealth to control by immigration restrictions the composition of its own population, and this position has been accepted by reasonable Indian opinion, although it is not prepared to accept the policy of exclusion from those territories which have not yet attained Dominion status. Apart from the grievances referred to above, Indian opinion has of late protested against certain specific disabilities such as inadequate representation upon Legislative bodies, exclusion from the Municipal franchise based upon a common electoral roll, and the non-payment to Indians of a minimum wage proportionate to the cost of living, to all of which Indian settlers have for long been subjected in some part or other of the British Commonwealth. The delegates to the Imperial Conference of 1921 agreed, South Africa dissenting, to a resolution, which admitted in principle the claim of Indians settled in other parts of the Empire to equality of citizenship, and the important suggestion that India should negotiate direct with South Africa in regard to the existing position, was also registered. Subsequent to the Conference, the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri visited Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in order to consult with those Governments as to the method of putting the resolution into effect, and he achieved much success in direct-

ing the attention of those Governments to the disabilities to which Indians resident in those dominions were subject.



We have seen that in most of the Crown Colonies the position of Indian settlers is satisfactory. In the Fiji Islands certain grievances of the Indian settlers formed the subject of negotiations between the Governments of India and Fiji, as a result of which the position of Indians in Fiji has been appreciably improved since 1924, notably by an increase of their representation in the Fiji Legislative Council and by the appointment of a special officer possessing Indian experience and language qualifications to act as Advisor to the Governor on matters affecting Indians in the colony.



In Kenya, relations between the European and Indian settlers have, on the whole, improved since 1923 when His Majesty's Government announced their general policy towards this Colony. The question of the franchise and the prohibition of Indian settlement in the Kenya Highlands, around which the bitterest part of the fight had raged, remained untouched after the announcement, but the Ordinance restricting immigration was held in abeyance, though the right was reserved of enacting it if native African interests came to be threatened by the influx of immigrants. The policy thus enunciated, was far from satisfying Indian opinion, either in East Africa or in India, but it did something to ease the situation, which was still further improved when the Indian community relinquished their attitude of non-co-operation and selected five members for the Legislative Council. This, roughly, was the position in Kenya at the end of March, 1926.

The question of the position of Indians in Kenya was again brought prominently to the fore in 1927 by the issue of another White Paper in July which announced that His Majesty's Government had authorised the Secretary of State for the Colonies to send to Africa a special commission to investigate the possibility of securing more effective co-operation between the Governments of Eastern and Central African Dependencies, and to make recommendations on this and cognate matters. This announcement excited serious apprehensions in India in regard to the future position of Indians in the colonies named in the paper. At the

beginning of the Autumn Session of the Indian Legislature, the adjournment of the Legislative Assembly was proposed in order to discuss the situation which had arisen. A deputation drawn mainly from both Houses of the Indian Legislature also waited on His Excellency the Viceroy on the 17th September and represented the position of Indians in East Africa. One of the suggestions made by the deputation was that permission may be given for a small deputation appointed by the Government of India to go over to East Africa in order—

(a) to make a general survey of these territories in relation to Indian interests therein, and

(b) to help the resident Indian community in preparing their evidence for the Commission.

The Government of India readily accepted this suggestion and, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, sent Kunwar Maharaj Singh, C.I.E., and Mr. R. B. Ewbank, C.I.E., I.C.S., to East Africa. These officers visited Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika and their services are understood to have been greatly appreciated by the resident Indian communities. The Commission whose appointment and visit to certain territories in Africa led to the deputation of these officers—has not yet presented its report.

Another matter which engaged the attention of the Government of India and the public in India during the year 1927 was the report of the Local Government Commission appointed by the Government of Kenya in July, 1926, to make recommendation as to the establishment or extension of Local Government in Nairobi and Mombassa and their environs and such settled areas as the Commissioners may consider to be suitable for the establishment of Local Government.

In particular this Commission was asked to advise upon the constitution, duties and powers of the local governing bodies which should be deemed suitable for the different areas concerned, the desirability or otherwise of establishing a co-ordinating auhority at the headquarters of the Government, the relations of such authority, if created, with the local governing bodies, and the basis of the contribution to be paid from the Central Government's funds towards the expenses of the local governing bodies. The report of the Commission was submitted to the Government of Kenya in February, 1927, a number of recommendations relating

to Indians were made, including proposals involving a decrease in the proportion of Indian representation on the local bodies at Nairobi and Mombassa, and the creation of European elected majorities in these places. This caused much resentment among Indians in the Colony and resulted in the abstention from the Legislative Council of four out of its five Indian members.* The Government of India have submitted representations to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on this subject. On the question of unofficial representation on the Councils of Nairobi and Mombassa, however, the Committee have reached conclusions which appear eminently satisfactory.



We said above that some of the most difficult problems which have faced the Government of India in connection with their nationals overseas during recent years have arisen in South Africa. For some years after 1919 the position of Indians in the Union gradually worsened owing to a series of Legislative enactments dealing with Asiatics in the Union. In 1919, a Commission appointed by the Union Government recommended the retention of a law prohibiting the ownership of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal and the withdrawal of the right of acquiring and owning land in the Uplands of Natal. In 1923 the Class Areas Bill was introduced permitting the compulsory segregation of Asiatics in urban areas, but this lapsed in consequence of the unexpected dissolution of Parliament. In 1924 the Governor-General assented to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance which prevented the further enrolment of Indians as burgesses. In 1925 the Mines and Works Act was proposed to be amended authorising the refusal of certificates of proficiency to Asiatics in certain occupations. The position of Indians in South Africa was thus being gradually worsened and provoked anger and resentment in India. The Government of India accordingly made representations to the Union Government and also sent a deputation under the late Sir George Paddison to South Africa. A better understanding between the two Governments resulted from the work of the Paddison deputation, and on its return to India in May, 1926, the Government of India agreed with the Union Government that a conference on Indian questions should be held in South Africa in December, 1926. They,

however, invited a deputation from the Union to visit India prior to this conference and study Indian conditions at first hand. The invitation was accepted and a South African deputation paid a highly successful visit to India during September and October, 1926. Thereafter, an Indian delegation, selected so as to command public confidence in India and carry weight in South Africa, was warmly welcomed in the Union. The Conference was held in December, 1926—January, 1927 and resulted in the attainment of a provisional agreement, which was later ratified by the two Governments. Under this agreement both parties reaffirmed the rights of the Union Government to provide for the maintenance of Western standards of life within its boundaries, and the Union Government recognised that Indians domiciled in South Africa and wishing to conform to Western standards of living should be enabled to do so. Those Indians who wished to leave South Africa, were to be assisted by the Union to emigrate to India or elsewhere, but those who desired to return to the Union within three years were to be allowed to do so on a refund of the amount of the assistance received by them. Union domicile was to be lost after three years' continuous absence. The Government of India on their part recognised their obligations to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India. Wives and minor children of Indians permanently domiciled in the Union were to be admitted under the conditions agreed upon at the Imperial Conference of 1918. These conditions were (*a*) that not more than one wife and her children should be admitted for each such Indian, and (*b*) that each individual, so admitted, should be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian. The Union Government further agreed not to proceed with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. The Government of India were asked to appoint an Agent to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments. This agreement was well received in both India and South Africa, though a certain section of European opinion in the latter viewed the agreement with suspicion and some even with unconcealed hostility. On the whole, we are justified in regarding it as a valuable contribution towards the solution of a highly complicated problem.

The friendly relations which were happily established between the Government of India and the Union Government of South Africa not only continued during the year under review, but grew in warmth and sincerity. Undoubtedly, one of the main contributory factors to this satisfactory state of affairs is the readiness displayed by both Governments to furnish proofs of their determination faithfully to fulfil their obligations under it. The Government of India lost no time in devising and setting in motion the machinery required in India to provide for the reception of those Indians who should decide to return to their homes under the scheme of assisted emigration, to protect their savings and bonuses, and to settle them in suitable occupations in this country. As a further proof of their earnestness to give effect to the terms of the Agreement, the Government of India decided to send out as their first Agent in South Africa under its provisions, the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., a member of the Government of India's Delegation to the Cape Town Conference of December 1926. His appointment was received with universal approval both in India and South Africa, and the Union Government, as a mark of their satisfaction at Mr. Sastri's appointment, extended an amnesty to all Indians illegally present in the Union.

On their part, the Union Government lost no time in introducing legislation to give effect to their undertakings under the Agreement, and when Mr. Sastri arrived in South Africa in June 1927 all that remained to be done was to take action under Part III of the Agreement, that is, the part relating to the measures required for the general uplift of the Indian community in the Union. Most of the provisions of this part of the Agreement concern the Province of Natal where the bulk of the Indian population in the Union is located, and the Union Government were not slow in moving the provincial Administration to appoint a Commission to enquire into the condition of Indian education in that Province, and to devise means necessary for its improvement. Co-operation with this Commission on the part of the Government of India was provided by the Deputation from India of two educational experts—Mr. K. P. Kichlu, I.E.S., Deputy Director of Education in the United Provinces and Miss C. Gordon of the Madras Educational Service, to advise and assist the Commission in its investigations and deliberations. The help given by these experts has been much appreciated by the Commission, whose report has been published

and whose views regarding the inadequacy of existing facilities for Indian education and the necessity for their expansion mark an important advance in the desired direction.

A notable feature of the present situation is the marked spirit of friendliness and good-will which now animates the Union Government in dealing with all problems affecting the domiciled Indian community. An example of this occurred in the year 1927 when a measure was introduced in the Union Parliament known as the Liquor Bill, of which one clause purported to prohibit the employment of Indians on any licensed premises—hotels, clubs, breweries, etc. The appearance of this clause, which threatened the livelihood of no less than 3,000 Indians engaged in such occupations, caused consternation and it was no small relief to both these persons and their fellow countrymen in South Africa when it was announced by the Minister in charge of the Bill that it had been decided to drop the clause in question.

Much of the credit for the salutary measures referred to and the spirit of friendliness which they denote is due to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, whose consummate tact and transparent honesty of purpose have earned for him the confidence of the European community, official and non-official alike, and an increasing measure of their sympathy and assistance in furtherance of the Indian cause. He has not only brought about an improvement in the feelings existing between Europeans and Indians in the Union, but has succeeded in rallying responsible Indian opinion in favour of working the Agreement, a development the importance of which cannot be exaggerated.



The affairs of British Guiana during the year hold some interest for us. In October 1926, the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed a Commission composed of Messrs. Roy, Wilson and Snell, Members of Parliament, to visit British Guiana and "to consider and report on the economic condition of the Colony," the causes which have hitherto retarded its development and the measures which might be taken to promote development.

The Commission, among other matters, examined the effect of the present constitution of the Colony on its financial and economic condition, and came to the conclusion that the existing divorce

of responsibility from power resulted, among other things, in bad trade and unsound finance. They, therefore, recommended that a strong local Commission should be appointed by the Governor to suggest ways and means for the revision of the constitution of the Colony of a kind which would ensure that the authorities finally responsible for the government of the Colony should have power, in the last resort, to carry into effect measures which they considered essential for its well-being.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies accepted this recommendation and a local Commission was accordingly appointed in July 1927 "to advise upon the steps which should be taken to confer power upon the Governor to carry into effect measures which he and the Secretary of State consider essential for the well-being of the Colony, whether by an alteration in the relative powers and in the composition of the Court of Policy and the Combined Court, or by the substitution of a new Legislative Council in which the Crown would possess powers of effective control over financial as well as other matters; and generally upon any other improvements, such as those suggested by the British Guiana Commission, which might be effected in the constitution." This Commission presented their report in September 1927 in which they recommend certain substantial changes in the existing constitution of the Colony. In March 1928 a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons empowering His Majesty's Government to alter the constitution of British Guiana by Order in Council. The Government of India consulted the Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature in this connection and are now watching events.



We said in last year's report that the Government of Ceylon had prepared draft legislation to give effect to the agreement which had been reached between themselves and the Government of India on the subject of a standard minimum wage for Indian estate labourers. This legislation was passed by the Ceylon Legislative Council towards the end of 1927 as the Indian Labour Ordinance No. 27 of 1927. The various provisions of the Ordinance are likely to be in full operation shortly and are expected greatly to improve the condition of the labourers.



In regard to Malaya, the Colony has for the purpose of the standard wage enquiry been divided into two classes or areas, *viz.*, " fairly healthy and easily accessible " and " somewhat unhealthy and not easily accessible " areas and the following standard rates of wages have recently been fixed and brought into force in the province of Wellesley (Straits Settlements) and the inland districts of Pahang (Federated Malay States) which were selected as the Key areas to represent each of the two classes of areas referred to above:—

	Male Labourer.	Female Labourer.
	(Malayan dollar cents.)	
Province of Wellesley . . .	50 a day	40 a day.
Pahang Districts	58 a day	46 a day.

The rates in question have been accepted by the Government of India as fair and reasonable and their extension to the corresponding areas in the rest of Malaya is now under consideration.



Indian Naval and Military affairs during the year under review proved to be of uncommon interest because of the publication of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report and the reaction to it of the Indian Legislative Assembly and also because of the untoward fate in the Assembly of the act by which it was sought to give the Indian Government authority to raise, maintain and discipline an Indian Naval Force.

In previous numbers of this Report Indian aspirations in the matter of the military policy of the Government of India have been discussed in some detail and they are familiar to all who take more than a passing interest in Indian affairs. These aspirations have crystallized into two definite demands. The first is for the increased Indianisation of the higher commissioned ranks of the regular army, and the second is for the extension of the facilities which now exist for training Indians to the use of arms in the Territorial Force. Dealing with the latter demand first, we may show that there are now nineteen provincial battalions of the Territorial Force in existence, their enrolled strength being over 12,000. Officers of the regular army are provided for the command of battalions and companies, but the provision of adequately trained officers for other commands is proving something of a problem. In addition to the provincial battalions of the Indian Territorial

Force there are six University Training Corps with headquarters at Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Madras and Rangoon, whilst Patna and Delhi have a company each. The Territorial Force is meant to be a second line force from which the regular army may be reinforced when necessary, and it is liable for more than purely local service. The Indian Territorial Force thus differs in scope from the Auxiliary Force, which is confined to European British subjects whose liability is only for local service. In order to put into effect the decisions of the Government of India on the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, the Auxiliary and Territorial Force Act had first of all to be amended. This was done in the Delhi session, and the amending Act and the rules under it subsequently came into force in September 1st 1928.

Progress has also taken place in connection with the first demand, namely that relating to the Indianisation of the higher commissioned ranks of the regular army. We may explain that there are two main categories of officers in the Indian Army, holding respectively the King's Commission and the Viceroy's Commission. The majority of the latter are men promoted from the ranks. They have a limited status and power of command, both of which are regulated by the Indian Army Act. It is only since the war that King's Commissions have been granted to Indians. Every unit of the Indian Army includes officers holding the Viceroy's Commission, while Indian Officers holding the King's Commission are now admitted to the Indian Army under a regular system, a feature of which is that in the ordinary course they are posted to certain selected units of Cavalry and Infantry. These units are eight in number and the scheme under which Indian King's Commissioned Officers are posted to them is known as the Eight Unit Scheme. King's Commissions are now to be obtained by Indian gentlemen qualifying themselves as cadets in the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, or by honorary grants to Indian officers whose age or lack of education preclude them from holding the full commission in the ordinary way. Commissions in this second category are granted *honoris causa* and are not regarded as augmenting the authorised establishment of commissioned officers. It, therefore, follows that if an Indian is to enjoy the fullest opportunity of

adopting a military career on terms of absolute equality with the British officer, he must pass through Sandhurst. Ten vacancies have been reserved annually at Sandhurst for Indian cadets, and in order to secure a suitable supply of recruits for these vacancies, there has been established in India the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. In this institution the normal course of education has been planned to occupy six years, and the arrangements so far made will enable a maximum of 120 boys to be in residence together. The college has already proved to be a great success and there is every hope that it will amply achieve the intention for which it was created. Indian political opinion, however, was not satisfied with the scope of the college and demands were made for the establishment in India of some institution which would have the same functions as the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. A debate on this subject took place in the Legislative Assembly during the Delhi Session of 1925 after which, in response to the feeling on the subject then expressed, the Government of India offered to appoint a committee to investigate the whole question of the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. This committee was appointed later in the year with Lieutenant General Sir Andrew Skeen as President. The terms of reference to the Committee were as follows:—

"To enquire and report:—

(*a*) By what means it may be possible to improve upon the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commission both in regard to number and quality.

(*b*) Whether it is desirable and practicable to establish a Military College in India to train Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army.

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, how soon should the scheme be initiated and what steps should be taken to carry it out.

(*d*) Whether if a Military College is established in India, it should supersede or be supplemented by Sandhurst and Woolwich so far as the training of Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army is concerned."

The report of the Skeen Committee was published on April 1st, 1927, and because of its importance and the far-reaching and funda-

mental changes which it recommends, it is proposed to deal with it here in some detail. The central features of the report are the abandonment of the Eight Unit Scheme and its replacement by a scheme providing that half the total cadre of King's Commissioned Officers in the Indian Army should be composed of Indians by the year 1952, the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst in 1933, and the opening of all branches of the Army to Indians. The Committee recognise that from the national as well as from the wider Asiatic and Imperial point of view it is imperative to select Indian officers for the Indian Army from the best material available. Hitherto the pace of Indianisation of the Army has been slow and the reasons for this were examined by the Committee who suggested various remedies. The Eight Unit Scheme was held to conflict with the principle of co-operation between British and Indian officers which obtained in every other sphere of administration and also the test imposed by the present arrangements was considered to be unfair and too severe upon the first generation of Indian officers who had already other disadvantages to overcome. Both for psychological and practical reasons the further continuance of the Eight Unit Scheme was held by the Committee to be undesirable. They believed, further, that the scope of employment for Indians in the higher ranks of the Army should be greatly extended, and that facilities should be provided in India to train them for King's Commissions. A substantial and progressive scheme of Indianisation should be adopted, and, subject to the maintenance of the present standard of efficiency, should be faithfully carried out. The scheme should provide for the following measures:—

(*a*) The number of vacancies at Sandhurst, at present ten, allotted to Indians should be doubled in 1928 and thereafter increased progressively by four a year until a military college on the lines of Sandhurst should be established in India in 1933. In order to make up any possible academic deficiencies of the students at the Indian Sandhurst, the Committee proposed that the course there should be of three years duration, the first year being devoted to ordinary academic studies and the last two mainly to military instruction under instructors of whom the majority should be British. The number of cadets at the Indian Sandhurst should in the first instance be not more than 100. A batch of 33 cadets should join the college in 1933 and in each of the two succeeding years. Proposals are made for a progressive increase in the num-

ber of cadets from the year 1936 onwards. Officers with the Viceroy's Commission who satisfy certain conditions should be admitted to the college in limited numbers for two years' training. The Committee further recommended that in order to maintain the Imperial connection in Military matters twenty vacancies should be continued to be reserved for Indians at Sandhurst even after the establishment of the Indian Military College. Successful students of the latter should be granted King's Commissions in His Majesty's land forces. As regards other wings of the Army, the Committee urged that Indians be made eligible for employment as King's Commissioned Officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air Arms, provided that they qualify by the same tests as British boys. From 1928, eight vacancies should be allotted to Indians at Woolwich and two at Cranwell, and these numbers should be increased progressively in due proportion. The Committee estimated that under their proposed scheme of Indianisation, half the total number of officers in the Indian Army would be Indians by 1952. They also assumed that a quota of British troops would be employed in India and they acknowledge that the progress of their scheme must be contingent upon success being secured at every stage and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout. The Committee recognised that Indianisation might result in a falling off in British recruitment, but in view of the importance for the success of this very policy of Indianisation of a continued supply of British officers of the same high quality as those who had served in the past, they regard it as especially important to maintain the required proportion of British recruitment.

A large number of subsidiary recommendations are made in the report and great stress is laid on the paramount national importance of reforming the system of education in India so as to enable it to develop the essential characteristics of an Army Officer in Indian boys.

An examination of the Committee's proposals was at once begun by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government and in the Simla Session of the Legislative Assembly a day was devoted to its discussion on a resolution proposed by Dr. B. S. Moonje in the following words:—

" This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that as a beginning in the direction of preparing India for self-defence immediate steps be taken to bring about the Indianisation

of half the cadre of officers in the Indian Army, unanimously recommended by the Skeen Committee, within a period of fifteen years, and to carry out the unanimous recommendations of the Committee with regard to the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and the recruitment of Indian officers in those arms of the defensive forces, paid for out of Indian revenues, from which they are at present excluded."

To this resolution the following amendment was moved by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, one of the leaders of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly:—

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:—

'Subject to the revision of the whole scheme of the defence of the country in any future constitution for India acceptable to the people of India, and while feeling that the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, specially relating to the continuance of British recruitment, do not satisfy Indian public opinion, this Assembly is of opinion that the acceptance of the unanimous recommendations of that Committee will mark a definite beginning in the Indianisation of the Army in India, and it therefore recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to accept those recommendations and give immediate effect to them!'

The mover of the Resolution drew a picture of the dangers to which India was subjected from outside aggression and emphasised the necessity that Indians themselves should take up the defence of their country since in another great war India might be cut off from England.

In moving his amendment Mr. Iyengar explained that he wanted to impress on the Government, without any prejudice to India's claims for the right of self-defence and self-government, the need for giving immediate effect to this unanimous report of a committee on which Europeans and Indians had admirably collaborated. Colonel Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., who represented non-official European opinion in the House, pointed out that the Skeen Report had emphasised the need for maintaining the existing standard of efficiency and yet had set up a time table for Indianisation, two things which the speaker feared, were not compatible. He also laid stress on the need for reforming the Indian educational

system, and he put forward a strong and well-reasoned argument in favour of continuing the Eight Unit Scheme. Colonel Crawford would like to see an Indian Dominion Army carefully built up which would ultimately take the place of the existing Indian Army after having proved its efficiency.

Mr. K. C. Roy pointed out that an Indian Dominion Army postulated an autonomous India and the withdrawal of the King's Army from within her borders and he wanted to know if Colonel Crawford was prepared for this. He insisted that the Eight Unit Scheme involved racial discrimination in a place where it should not exist.

At the end of the day His Excellency Sir William Birdwood, Commander-in-Chief, spoke on the resolution. He explained that he was unable to make any adequate reply because the provisional views of the Government of India on the Report were now before His Majesty's Government which had not yet pronounced any opinion on them. After emphasising the magnitude of the whole question and the far-reaching and possibly irrevocable results of the adoption of a faulty or erroneous policy His Excellency referred to certain fundamental points in the report. The Committee, he reminded his hearers, had more than once emphasised that all their recommendations were subject to the condition that efficiency should be maintained, and they had laid stress on the importance of retaining a necessary proportion of British officers in the Indian Army. The Indian Army problem of to-day, he said, fell into two parts. One part was concerned with Indianisation and the training of Indians in the qualities of leadership and command, and the other with the maintenance of efficiency and British recruitment. In regard to the first part of the problem, His Excellency urged upon his hearers the vital importance of the Committee's remarks about reforms in the Indian educational system, for this was an initial stage which could not be jumped. He then referred to the Committee's emphasis on the vital necessity for maintaining a due proportion of British recruits of high quality and showed how it was incumbent upon both the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to regard the whole matter from the widest point of view. The Government of India, depending on the efficiency of their fighting forces, were responsible for the defence of India and had no margin to play with. The Indian Army, again, formed one link in the chain of Imperial defence and no changes

in its organisation, which might effect its efficiency, could be undertaken without the fullest consideration of His Majesty's Government, who were ultimately responsible for the security of the whole Empire. For, it must be remembered that failure to defend India, besides spelling disaster for her, must react on the Empire as a whole. He assured his hearers that they and the Government of India and His Majesty's Government were all at one as regards the twin object of giving Indians an increasing share in the defence of India, whilst making sure that the methods chosen did not directly or indirectly weaken that instrument of self-defence on which India must rely.

When the debate was resumed nearly three weeks later, a number of speakers on all sides of the House took part in it. The two most important speeches on this second day were made by two members of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, Sahibzada Sir Abdul Quaiyum and Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The Sahibzada said that the Government of India and His Majesty's Government must take time to consider the recommendations of the Committee and must give effect to them with caution, because the Indian Nationalism which had been created by British Rule in India had not yet reached its full developments. Mr. Jinnah criticised Colonel Crawford's views as not representing the better minds of Europeans and ridiculed his scheme. He considered that there was ample material in the country from which to recruit Army Officers if only the educational system was properly developed.

In the end Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment was declared carried without a division.



The time between the middle of September and February was occupied by further discussion with His Majesty's Government and their and the Government of India's final conclusions were made known by His Excellency Sir William Birdwood in the course of his budget speech in the Legislative Assembly on Thursday, March the 8th. Sir William announced that both the Home and the Indian Governments had been able to reach unanimous conclusions regarding the Indianisation of the Indian Army as a whole. He emphasised three primary considerations. First, the recognition of the fact that a further measure of Indianisation was necessary; second, that, as the Indian Sandhurst Committee had insisted,

there must be no diminution in the all-round efficiency of the Army in India; third, as the Committee again had observed, there must be no break-down in the supply of British recruits to the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. The Home and Indian Governments had accepted the initial recommendations of the Committee that the number of direct vacancies at Sandhurst open to Indians should be increased from 10 to 20 a year and that from 5 to 10 vacancies in addition should be reserved for Viceroy's Commissioned Officers. As regards a further expansion of the number of vacancies for Indians Sir William announced that the Government could not accept the Committee's proposals which amounted to a mere time table from the year 1929 to 1952, irrespective of whether or not efficient and suitable candidates were forthcoming. The results of the large initial increase in the number of vacancies offered would be observed before further steps in this direction were taken. He next announced that His Majesty's Government had agreed to open vacancies at Woolwich and at Cranwell for Indian cadets with a view to the formation of Indian artillery, engineers and their units. The number of vacancies to be made available each year would naturally depend on the numbers required to officer these units and with a maximum of six cadets each for Woolwich and Cranwell, the total number of vacancies at these two places and Sandhurst for Indian cadets would be 37. The number of Indian cadets in training for the Air Force would have to depend on the success or otherwise of the Indian Government in producing enough of them to make possible the formation of an Indian Air Force. The Indian and Home Governments, however, disagreed with the Indian Sandhurst Committee on the subject of the Eight Unit Scheme which would be maintained. One fundamental reason for this was that if Indian officers were scattered over the whole Indian Army, it would be impossible to obtain any satisfactory criterion regarding their ability to command units.

The Commander-in-Chief also announced that it had been found impossible to agree to the Committee's recommendations for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. He pointed out that there were no means of predicting the number of candidates which would come forward in any particular year, and, therefore, that a definite date for the establishment of an Indian Military College could not be fixed. He also referred to the admitted advantages which a

course at Sandhurst gave to Indian boys in their subsequent careers and hoped that when the time came for an Indian Military College on the lines of Sandhurst to be opened in India, there would be a sufficient number of Indian *ex*-Sandhurst cadets, and, in due course, *ex*-staff college officers, to take a hand in shaping the Indian Military College and staffing it with instructors and professors. However, since the education of cadets at the proposed Indian Military College would have been cheaper than their education at Sandhurst, it had been decided to give grants to cadets proceeding to England calculated on the difference between the estimated cost of their military education in India and the cost in England.

In a weighty passage at the end of his speech Sir William Birdwood stated the essentials of the policy of Indianisation. "Members," he said, "will no doubt ask the question 'So far, so good; but what is to be the rate of further advance?' To this question the answer must be: 'It depends upon Indians themselves'. Until we have full experience of the results of the increase now proposed, we do not limit our discretion by detailing a fixed programme of automatic increase of these numbers. Such increase must depend, I repeat, upon results. The question of expansion of the numbers at present proposed, as of the creation of an Indian Sandhurst, will of necessity come under review when the numbers coming forward are greater than the new vacancies offered can absorb. The one essential condition will always be maintenance of the requisite standard. As I have already said, the object which we all seek to achieve is to fit Indians to undertake the defence of India. As constitutional advance progresses the question will continually be asked how far the military side of Indian Swaraj has kept pace? Government contemplates that, as India progresses towards full self-government within the Empire, there may be in process of development an Army of the same character as the Dominion armies, organized on a national basis and officered by Indians holding their own distinctive national form of commission. That is our policy of Indianisation. This process of development will naturally be contingent on the success achieved in the various stages of the experiment. The way is now open for the first time for Indians to enter new branches of the Army, and to enter in greatly increased numbers. In no quarter is it desired to impose arbitrary limits to such expansion of India's military effort as events may prove to be within the reach of her

capacity. The rate of progress in these matters, depending as it does so vitally upon the human element, cannot be the subject of an automatic time-table; but Government has now, I venture to think for the first time, laid down the lines of a policy which affords the best means of reconciling the legitimate desires of those who speak for India with the necessity of maintaining at every stage the requisite strength of our defence forces."

A comparison of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech with the abstract given above of the recomendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee will show that of the latter the following have been accepted:—The increase in the number of vacancies for Indian cadets at Sandhurst, the grant of King's Commission to Viceroy's Commissioned Officers who satisfy certain conditions, the admission of Indians to Woolwich and Cranwell with a view to their entry into artillery, engineering, and other units, and, lastly, the introduction of grants-in-aid to cadets to compensate them for the extra cost involved in proceeding to England for their military education. Two recommendations of the Committee were not accepted, namely; the discontinuance of the Eight Unit Scheme, and the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst.

His Excellency's speech was delivered on Thursday and it soon became obvious that it was not acceptable to some members of the Assembly, for on the following Saturday Mr. Jinnah moved the adjournment of the House as a protest against the policy of the Government towards the Indianisation of the Army as this was stated in the Commander-in-Chief's speech. The motion was adopted by 70 to 41 votes.

It will be noticed that we have confined our attention to the reception of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report by the Legislative Assembly. In doing so, however, we are not guilty of any discourtesy to the Council of State which also discussed the report during the Simla Session of 1927, when a resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna recommending the Governor General in Council to urge on the Secretary of State for India the necessity for taking prompt action on the recommendations made in the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report. It happens, however, that the Assembly had the first opportunity of debating the subject, when Dr. Moonje's resolution came up on August the 25th, and, naturally, the attitude and opinions of Indian nationalist members

are much the same in both Houses. Therefore, a description of the Council of State debate would be largely a repetition of that in the Assembly. The resolution in the Council of State was lost by 17 votes to 23.



When we talk of Indianisation of the Army, we naturally enough think first of all of the combatant branches of the service, but we must not forget that the Army includes various technical and administrative branches, and in many of these an appreciable measure of Indianisation has already been effected. In previous reports we have spoken of the admission of Indian officers to the Cantonment Department, whose members are the executive authorities in the military stations. Something has been said of the scope now afforded to King's Commissioned Officers in this Department, but it is worth while mentioning that executive posts in the Cantonments, subordinate to those held by King's Commissioned Officers, are open to Viceroy's Commissioned Officers also. During the year eight Indian officers holding the Viceroy's Commission, have been admitted into the Cantonment Department to fill the appointments of what are known as second class executive officers. These eight appointments are in addition to the one Indian and six Viceroy's Commissioned Officers already in the department.

Another step in the direction of Indianisation has been taken by the Secretary of State for India, who has approved of King's Commissions in the Indian Army Veterinary Corps being opened to Indian gentlemen who have been educated at the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun, or at an English Public School, and have subsequently obtained the M.R.C.V.S. diploma.

Another very interesting and fruitful development has taken place in connection with the Indian Ordnance Factories. In last year's report it was mentioned that new schemes were under consideration to regularise and consolidate fully the system of apprenticeship and training of boy artisans including schools and other educational arrangements for these boys, which had been in force in the factories for some time. These schemes have now been brought into operation and the Ordnance Factories can look forward with some confidence to obtaining a better class of workmen and junior staff. Moreover, as employment in the factories is not

obligatory after the boys have completed their training, these schemes open up to Indian youths the prospect of obtaining very useful training in general engineering and certain specialised trades which hitherto they have lacked.

It is highly satisfactory to be able to report that although troops were called out or required to stand to in aid of the Civil Power on many occasions, principally arising out of inter-communal disturbances, during the year, the moral effect of their presence was sufficient to restore the situation on all except one occasion which arose at Kharagpur during a strike on the Bengal Nagpur Railway. The troops had to use their bayonets and inflict a few casualties. On no occasion were firearms employed. Between the 19th February and the 15th March Army Signallers were used to maintain Railway Signal Communications at the request of the Railway Authorities during a strike on the Bengal Nagpur Railway.



For the Royal Air Force, the most important event of the year has been the sanctioning of an addition of two Bombing Squadrons. This entails certain internal reorganisations within the command. The principal changes will be the formation of a Group Headquarters at Peshawar, and two station establishments (each to consist of a headquarters and two squadrons) at Kohat and Risalpur respectively. Sanction was also given for the addition of two heavy transport bombing machines; with these it is hoped to gain experience in troop carrying, carriage of supplies, and other similar duties in India. It is hoped that this reorganisation will be completed by the 1st February 1929.

We noticed earlier in this chapter that the Royal Air Force had co-operated with ground troops in operations against the Mohmand tribe and a few more details may be of interest to the reader. These minor operations were carried out successfully by the Royal Air Force in conjunction with a flying column of regular troops, Frontier Constabulary, and Mohmand Khassadars, between the 4th and 9th of June, 1927, against hostile tribesmen who attacked our Administrative Border near Shabkadar, 15 miles north of Peshawar.

On June 5th air reconnaissance was carried out. As the tribesmen were reluctant to come out into the open, the original plan of attack had to be modified. After due warning by the civil author-

ities, orders were given for bombing operations to be carried out. These took place on the evening of June 6th and on the 7th. The *lashkar* was dispersed, with casualties amounting to some 15 killed and 16 wounded, and the country has been quiet ever since. The Royal Air Force had no casualties.

Another operation but of a peaceful kind was carried out over tribal country on the North West Frontier during the year. This was a photographic reconnaissance over Shiah Orakzai country in September 1927, during a period of unrest in the Tirah. The results were valuable, as the Royal Air Force were able to modernize and correct their maps of these parts.

By the attachment of a Royal Air Force Squadron to the Southern Command, from October 1927 to January 1928 this command was able, after a long interval, to avail itself of air co-operation with its other troops.

The King of Afghanistan was given an aerial escort on arrival at Chaman. Further escorts were provided at Quetta and Karachi, and the Royal party was escorted out to sea at Karachi and Bombay by the Far East Flight. While at Karachi the King of Afghanistan visited the Royal Air Force Depot.



The proposal to reconstruct the Royal Indian Marine on a combatant basis will be found in the report for 1925-26, and the progress made during 1926-27 was described in the last report. During the period under review the measures required to complete the new development were brought to a conclusion. Three sloops of the R. I. M., "Clive", "Cornwallis" and "Lawrence", were reconditioned as sloops of war; the R. I. M. troopship "Dalhousie" was converted into a depot ship for the new force; and another old troopship "Dufferin" was made over to the Commerce Department as a training ship for the mercantile marine. Orders were given for the construction in England of a fourth sloop of war to complete the initial strength of the force. The service ceased to provide ships for the performance of station duties in ports, and to be responsible for the lighting and buoying services in the Persian Gulf and in Indian waters generally. The requirements of the reorganised service in the matter of equipment and stores were practically settled, as also were all details of organisation, administration and finance. It was decided, in consulation with

His Majesty's Government, that the recruitment and training of the officer ranks of the new force should proceed on lines similar to those in force for the Royal Navy, Indian appointments being filled by competition at an open examination held in India and the training in all cases taking place in the United Kingdom. Finally the Government of India Act was amended by the Government of India (Indian Navy) Act, 1927, to give express recognition to the inherent powers of the Government of India to raise and maintain a naval force, to provide for its discipline on the lines of the discipline of the Royal Navy, and to regulate its general constitutional position. It only remained for the Indian Legislature to enact a Discipline Act based, in the words of new section 66 of the Government of India Act, on the Naval Discipline Act "with such modifications and adaptations (if any) as may be made by the Indian Legislature to adapt the Act to the circumstances of India." A Bill for this purpose was placed before the Legislative Assembly in February 1928, but the motion to refer it to a Select Committee was defeated by one vote.

The proceedings of the Assembly show that the debate centred, not in the immediate objects of the Bill, but in the general principle of the acceptance of a Naval force which in certain special circumstances, might be placed by executive action at the disposal of His Majesty's Government. It was argued that the Indian Legislature had not been consulted in the first instance regarding the constitution of an Indian Navy; that it would have no control over the expenditure on the new force; that it would have no voice in a decision to place the force in an emergency at the disposal of His Majesty's Government; and that the provision for the appointment of Indians as officers in the proportion of 1 to 2 was inadequate. The Government spokesman pointed out that there had been no expressed desire during the past two years to discuss the reorganisation, though the House had been kept fully informed from time to time of the progress that was being made; that expenditure on the Royal Indian Marine had always been non-votable and that therefore there was no change in this respect; that under the existing law it was possible for His Majesty's Government to take over the ships of the Royal Indian Marine without even obtaining the consent of the Government of India and that the amendment to the Government of India Act represented an improvement in this respect; that the proportions of Indian recruitment were by

no means ungenerous in a small and highly technical service in which duties had not been undertaken by any Indian in the past; and that in any case the whole of the present legislation was transitional—the first step towards the ultimate goal of an Indian Dominion Navy entirely officered by Indians and subject to the control of the Indian Legislature. The rejection of the Bill made it impossible to alter the designation of the Royal Indian Marine and undoubtedly came as a disappointment to the service. The labours of the past two years will not, however, be wasted. The Indian Marine Act of 1887 is a form of Discipline Act under which the Royal Indian Marine can serve as a combatant force. Enrolment can and will be carried out under this Act. The functions of the Royal Indian Marine as reorganised, will not differ materially from those that were to be assigned to the Royal Indian Navy. The decision of the Legislative Assembly merely operated to prevent the conferment upon the Royal Indian Marine of a status equal to that of the Royal Navy and the Dominion Navies, and the exercise of command by Royal Indian Marine officers over vessels and personnel of the Royal Navy when operating with them.

CHAPTER IX.

The Provinces.

(1) LAW AND ORDER.

With this chapter we come to the narration of a series of activities which take place in the Provinces and here, as in Chapter VII, we have thought it desirable to go outside the limits of a mere chronicle of the year's events to present, as a background to current events, the division of powers and functions between the Government of India and the Provinces, and to explain the structure of the Provincial Government and the meaning of the terms 'reserved' and 'transferred' as applied to its departments. Without such a general background of exposition, this and the following chapter would be hardly more than a tale of possibly interesting, but certainly not cohering, facts and activities.



The present constitution of this country is based on the Government of India Act, 1919, a Statute of the British Parliament. The grand object of the Statute is to implement the historic declaration of August the 20th, 1917, which announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to guide India in a measured progress towards responsible self-government. The Act of 1919 was meant to take India along the first stage of this progress, and its provisions were formulated after enquiry into all the conditions of the problem, both in India and in England. Here we are concerned only with the division of functions under the Act of 1919—that is, the division between the Central and Provincial Governments, and, more particularly, with the arrangements according to which the provincial sphere is divided between the Governor acting with his Executive Council and the Governor acting with his Ministers.

By rules known as the Devolution Rules, made under the 1919 Act, the different subjects of administration were divided up between the Central and Provincial Governments. The division of work between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments follow certain broad and easily comprehensible lines. To the former belong Military and Foreign affairs, Tariffs and Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Income-tax, Currency and the

Public Debt, Commerce and Shipping and legislation relating to Civil and Criminal Law—in short, those subjects which must by their nature be administered by the Central Government. Practically all other important subjects of administration are within the sphere of the provinces.

The subjects of administration listed as Provincial subjects in the first Schedule to the Devolution Rules underwent a further division into reserved and transferred. It is in this division that we find the principle now familiar to everybody under the name of dyarchy, which is a compound of two Greek words meaning "Government by two authorities". Under the reformed constitution, therefore, the provincial executives now consist of two parts. The first part is the Governor working with Executive Councillors nominated by the Crown. The second is the Governor working with Ministers selected from Members of the Provincial Legislature. The first half of the Provincial Government administers the reserved subjects and is responsible for them to the Government of India, and, ultimately, to Parliament through the Secretary of State. The second half of the Government deals with the transferred subjects and is responsible first to the Provincial Legislative Council and ultimately to the Electorate. Among the most important of the subjects thus transferred to popular control are Local Self-Government, Medical Administration and Public Health, Education, all branches of Public Works except Irrigation, Agriculture, Fisheries, Forests in one or two provinces, Co-operative Societies, Excise, Registration, Industries, and various other items. Thus a very large proportion of those subjects of administration on the development of which India's progress depends have now been made over directly to Indian control subject to the provisions of rule 52 (3) of the Act which empowers the Governor of a Province to dissent from the opinion of his Ministers if he sees sufficient cause to do so. Of the reserved subjects the most important are Police and Law and Order, Land Revenue, Irrigation, and Forests in the majority of the provinces. The two latter topics have already been discussed in an earlier chapter and here we will confine ourselves to the work of the Police throughout India.



The existing system of Police in India has grown out of the system of constabulary police organised in Sind as far back as the

'forties' of last century by Sir Charles Napier who conquered the province in 1843. He drew his inspiration from the Irish Constabulary of those days and his Sind Police may fairly be claimed as the parent of the modern Indian Police.

All over India the Police are organised, disciplined and controlled according to the provisions of the Police Act of 1861, and by Police Rules made thereunder by Provincial Governments to suit the different conditions in the different provinces. In some provinces there are local Police Acts. The basis of organisation is provincial, and inside the province the administrative unit is the district. At the head of the provincial force is an Inspector-General with a varying number of Deputy Inspectors General under him according to the size of the province, whilst the police force of a district is under a District Superintendent of Police who, in most provinces, is called simply Superintendent of Police. Every district is divided up into a number of police station jurisdictions each in charge of a " Station-house Officer ", who is usually of the rank of Sub-Inspector. The police station, or *Thana,* is the basic working unit of the Indian police system. Every crime which happens must be reported in the first instance to the Station-house Officer within whose jurisdiction it has occurred and on him devolves the duty of investigating the report and, if possible, bringing the offender to justice. But the Station Officer's duties are far from being limited by his work of reporting and investigating crime. In very many places in India he is the only representative of the Government for miles around and almost everything that happens within his jurisdiction concerns him more or less closely. In flood, fire and all other accidents and calamities he and his constables have got to play the part of local providence. He has got to do various odd jobs for other departments of the Government and although it is not likely that our famous librettist was thinking of the *Thanadar* when he described the policeman's lot as "not a happy one", his words certainly apply to him.



But although the regular police system, as described above, is based on the model of the old Royal Irish Constabulary, and is thoroughly Western in conception and organisation, the police administration of the country contains certain indigenous elements of great antiquity and value. Over practically the whole of

India the old pre-British village policeman still exists. In the South of India he has been from very ancient times the servant of the village community, but in Northern India, where the village system, owing to historical reasons, has not survived so completely, the village policeman or village watchman was the servant of some landowner or other and was not the servant of the whole community. The first duty of the village watchman is to report crime, but his functions, like those of the *Thanadar*, are many and varied and extend to the arrest of offenders, general aid to the police, surveillance over bad characters and suspicious persons, and the general supply of local information, particularly when an investigation is being held into a crime in his own village.



Having now seen what a Reserved Department is, and having learnt something of the organisation of the Indian Police, we can now glance rapidly at the conditions in which they function. For English readers the word "police" conjures up a vision of the typical Borough police force with its members serving permanently within the comparatively narrow confines of the Borough. If his thoughts go a little further to the county constabulary, he will think of the village policeman stationed in his little country village with his beat of a few square miles of countryside. He must beware of applying this vision to India, because there things are very different. The photographs opposite this page show two extremes of conditions under which the Indian Police do their work. From the crowded street in the heart of the second biggest city in the British Empire to the grim environment of the Frontier Fort is a far cry, and between the two are to be found all manner of intermediate conditions. In the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and also in Rangoon, the police are organised as a separate force for the city and are under the command of a Commissioner of Police. But everywhere else in India, however big a city may be, the police stationed therein are part of the police force of the district in which the city is located and, any one of the policeman serving there might find himself at any time transferred to a rural station twenty or thirty miles away. Outside the bigger cities there are few towns which have a police force for duties solely within the town. At the best, the town will be the headquarters of a police station jurisdiction, and will

contain a police station with a varying number of constables in it, but the town will merely be the centre of an *alaquah*, that is, an area, greater or smaller according to circumstances, containing a number of villages and hamlets, all of which have to be patrolled and guarded as closely and carefully as circumstances permit. The whole of British India is divided among these police station jurisdictions, the average personnel of which,—certainly of the rural stations—probably does not exceed a dozen or so men, including the Station House Officer, the station clerk, and a head constable, who acts as assistant to or deputy for the Station House Officer in investigating cases. It is easy to see, therefore, that the regular police can hardly be ubiquitous, and the importance of the village watchman as their eyes and ears, and, also, the absolute necessity for the co-operation of village headmen and of the public generally become easily apparent. Few, if any rural police stations jurisdictions can be properly patrolled by only ten or a dozen men, and this is the chief reason why it is possible for gangs of armed robbers, or dacoits as they are called in India, to continue their depredations for weeks or months before they are hunted down and either destroyed or captured. Again from what was said in Chapter III we were able to make some sort of a mental picture of the immense Indian countryside with its lonely little hamlets and shielings, its paucity of roads, and its general out-of-the world conditions. In such places as these, crimes may be easily committed, and the custom of hoarding wealth, whether in hard cash or in the shape of gold and silver ornaments, which is so prevalent in this country, is another inducement to crime. Where there is no policeman within ten miles, and where natural hiding places, whether in mountain, swamp, or dense jungle, exist in profusion, the task of the criminal is rendered easy, and it must be remembered that there are many potential criminal elements in this country. From time immemorial wandering and criminal tribes have moved to and fro over the plains of India, and there are still very many of these tribes unreclaimed and unreformed. There are many who take readily to violent crime, either for adventure, or from revenge, or because of adverse financial circumstances, or out of sheer desire to get easy money. There can always be found hardy spirits not infrequently ready to collect a band of desperados around them and go out to commit burglaries or dacoities, that is, gang robberies with violence. Cattle stealing is rife in many parts of India,

because, as we saw earlier in this report, the Indian countryman's real wealth is in his cattle and he is often ready to pay ransom for his animals to the cattle thief rather than invoke the aid of the police, who may or may not be successful in recovering his animals for him. In fact, in all parts of India, there are many persons who make their living by acting as middlemen between the cattle thief and his victim, and in the north of India there is a regular name for the ransom paid for stolen cattle. It is called *Bhunga*, and there are even places where what might be called a *Bhunga* market exists.

Naturally the isolation and primitive conditions of life in which so many of the people of India live are accompanied by a degree of ignorance and consequent credulity which almost passes belief, and from this state of affairs many crimes are bred. A very good illustration of this remark is afforded by a case reported from Bhagalpur in Bihar and Orissa. A swindler obtained some gold and silver jewellery from two men on the undertaking that he would double it for them in quantity. He dug a hole in the ground, sacrificed a pigeon, and said that during the night fairies would descend from the skies and dance with the witches of the village who would put on the ornaments. Of course during the night both the man and the jewellery disappeared. This is only one of innumerable stories which might be quoted, of swindles of all sorts which are rendered possible only by extreme gullibility arising out of ignorance.

The number of murders committed in India seems very high to an English reader. During the year 1927 no fewer than 3,323 murders were reported to the Police in British India including Burma. There is a saying in this country to the effect that murders are due to the three Zs, that is Zan, Zar, Zamin—lust, loot, and land. It is true, for the vast majority of murders in India can be traced to causes originating in one or other of these things which are springs of passions all three of them primitive, and one elemental. It cannot be denied that among many sections of the Indian peoples, human life is held very cheaply, and murder is regarded far too generally as not an anti-social crime but as an offence against an individual only. Wealthy men commit murders or have them committed in the hope of being able to save themselves by bribing magistrates, police or witnesses. The hired assassin's occupation is not yet gone and, altogether, the lack of

adequate motive to account for very many of the murders committed in this country is a disquieting feature of its general conditions.

The following extract from the Punjab Police Report for 1927 well illustrates the conditions amidst which wild crimes can be committed—the remoteness of rural areas and people from the nearest representatives of the law, the supineness, whether due to fear, or sympathy, or mere apathy, of witnesses to terrible tragedies, and the reckless indulgence of fierce passions—all of which may be reproduced in any province in India.

"On the 16th October a gang of dacoits belonging to the Ferozepore, Amritsar and Lahore districts went to the village of Bhagu, Police Station Abohar, District Ferozepore, and raided the house of Waryam Singh, Jat. They shot the owner of the place and his servant named Mogha, a Chamar. They then proceeded to the house of one Dalip Singh, where they attacked and wounded Ganpat, Chamar, who shortly after succumbed to his injuries. The next object of attack was Lekhu's house, Lekhu was a rich moneylender. He happened to be away, but his two wives and a nephew were present. One of the women was tortured with fire and beaten and compelled to point out where her husband's money was hidden. The dacoits succeeded in digging up cash estimated at from Rs. 6,800 to Rs. 12,000 and jewellery worth Rs. 2,600 which was removed from a safe. Some deeds and other documents are also alleged to have been deliberately piled up and burnt. The raiders then went to the house of one Hanwanta whom they threatened with death on suspicion of his having concealed Lekhu, the moneylender. After this they left, taking away three camels and a large quantity of booty and proceeded to village Kikar Khua, five miles to the north of Bhagu. There they raided the house of Bega, Jat, and abducted his daughter aged 20 years. The motive which inspired the gang was obviously to loot and take revenge on persons with whom they were at enmity. In the subsequent pursuit, which started on the 18th and continued for a period of 4 days, one of the dacoits named Maghlu was captured in Sirsa city together with the woman who had been abducted by the gang, and about Rs. 2,000 was recovered. The pursuing party consisting of men from the Ferozepore and Hissar Police were assisted by arms license-holders and by a Sergeant Instructor and three European drivers of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway with a Lewis gun.

Two of the gang were subsequently arrested by the Jaipur Police and five others by the Ferozepore Police."



From what has been said above, it will be realised that the criminal elements in the Indian population are pressing on the police all the time in most parts of India and that inefficiency or slackness on their part may be speedily followed by a partial breakdown of law and order. This may happen also in times of political agitation or widespread disorder. The Moplah Rebellion, many of the incidents of non-co-operation days particularly the Chauri Chaura tragedy and such widespread disorders as the Hindu-Muslim riots in Bihar and Orissa in 1917 and the South Western Punjab in 1915 are all proofs of this.

The Hindustani word for criminal—in the sense of criminal law or criminal administration is 'Faujdari' from the title of the old Moghul Official, the Faujdar, who commanded a body of armed men with which he kept down crime and disorder with the strong hand as the Sheriff did in old England centuries ago. The word Faujdar is in its turn derived from Fauj, which means army, and so the word 'Faujdari' takes us straight back to the days when an investigation into a serious crime was a minor military operation. And that the old order of things has not entirely passed away is shown by the report of the operations during 1927 of the Special Dacoity Police in the United Provinces, a document published only this year, tell of the conditions which still prevail in that great Province.

Dacoity is still prevalent in India to an extent which is hardly credible. Its strongholds are naturally the less frequented tracts of the country, and of these, the favourites are those where different jurisdictions meet. It was so common in certain parts of the United Provinces a few years ago that the ordinary district police were unable to cope with it and it became necessary to call a Special Dacoity Police into being in 1922. Under the leadership of Mr. F. Young, Superintendent of Police, this force has waged successful war on dacoits for some years past and the report of its operations during 1927 has many passages reminiscent of the famous classics mentioned above.

One of the principal achievements of the year was the rounding up of the notorious and dreaded Chambal Kanjars a band of dacoits,

or, rather, a clan of dacoits made up of some five separate bands under individual leaders, who had long victimised the countryside. The task was no easy one for these desperadoes operated in very difficult country which was unfamiliar to the Special Police and much of which lay within the confines of Indian States. Mr. Young and his men addressed themselves methodically and resolutely to this delicate and dangerous undertaking.

Early in 1926 they opened their campaign, studying the terrain, establishing friendly relations with the rulers of the States concerned, obtaining information about "the haults, habits and movements" of the dacoits and in other ways preparing for action. The assault was delivered during the rains of 1926, but proved abortive. One big raid failed of its purpose owing to difficulties of transport, while the other was spoiled by the treachery of the guides. During the ensuing winter further attempts were made to capture the outlaws but without success. One of these might have terminated otherwise but for an unfortunate accident. After a skilful approach and arduous marching the Special Police came up one night with two of the robber gangs concealed in dense cactus thicket among precipitous ravines. They had got to close quarters and were about to surround them when a rifle went off accidently. This gave the alert dacoits their cue and with a single exception they all succeeded in escaping. This stroke of luck appears to have emboldened them and they continued their raids on the villages. Their doom, however, was sealed, and at the end of March 1927 one of their leaders, Hazara, and two of his lieutenants were captured at the Gwalior Railway Station while "on their way to spy out the land for a series of dacoities in Southern Gwalior". A few days later word was brought that two other leaders, Pirbhoo and Faujdara, and their men, were hidden on the banks of the Chambal river. A raid was organised with the aid of the Gwalior State Police and some thrilling incidents ensued. After difficult marching, dangerous fording of the river, and discomfiture from the heat, a brisk fight took place, mainly in the bed of the river, between the police and the dacoits. In the result, both the dacoit leaders were wounded and secured, while a lesser leader, Hukma, was shot dead after he had missed Sub-Inspector Izhar Husain at point blank range. Other members of the gang, with their women and children, were also taken and a good deal of booty, including firearms, was recovered.

Another act of this stirring drama was staged near a village called Madhopura. The dacoits were encamped near by and as a signal for the advance on them at night Mr. Young sent up a green Verey light. This was a species of frightfulness entirely new and completely terrifying to the dacoits, who fled ignominiously and concealed themselves precipitately in the neighbouring village. This the Special Police surrounded and searched carefully after daybreak. The dare-devils of a hundred fights were discovered in the most undignified of hidding places, Hira, one of the fiercest of the leaders, being found behind a grain bin.

'The report mentions many instances of bravery and prowess which cannot but excite admiration. One of the most striking of these is connected with the capture of a notorious dacoit, Kalay, in which constable Kishen Lal figures as a great hero and in which he lost his life. The story is told later in this chapter.

Mr. Young fittingly concludes his report with a tribute to the *esprit de corps* of his men which he attributes in no small measure to the spirit of self-reliance and the faculty for independent action without reference to superior officers which has been strongly inculcated in the Force.



Thus the ancient order has not passed altogether away even now, and all over India the police have to be equipped with and trained to the use of fire arms. Except in the Punjab, the Provincial Police forces are divided into two categories, the armed police and the civil police. But in the Punjab no distinction is made between the two and a percentage of the rifles is kept in every district. All Punjab policemen have to be prepared to undertake duties which fall to the armed police in other provinces. Any day in practically every part of India the police are faced with the possibility of having to conduct operations against well armed and desperate men to whom human life is of no account and for the past few years extensive operations of a semi-military character have been going on against the numerous gangs of dacoits which infest the United Provinces. The following few stories of the way in which the King's Police Medal has been won in different Indian provinces in recent years will help the non-Indian reader to appreciate the foregoing account of the conditions in which the Indian police work more fully than many pages of mere explanation.

Four or five years ago, a famous raider of the Kohat Border and his gang attacked a village inside the Kohat district and took away three Hindus. There was a police post about 8 miles from the village but the news of the raid did not reach the Police until four hours after the gang had disappeared. A Head Constable or Sergeant as he would be called in England, named Faqir Muhammad who was in charge of the post, collected ten men of the local levies and tried to intercept the gang across the rough country through which they were retreating. After marching all night he came upon the tracks of the gang next morning and found that he was too late to cut them off before they got to the border. Nothing daunted, he insisted upon his weary party pursuing the raiders further and this they did for the whole of the second day. It was at the beginning of the hot weather, the country was very difficult, the heat was intense, and the raiders themselves suffered severely from these adverse conditions and from the hot pace which they had set. Therefore, a part of the gang, including their leader, sat down to rest, and at about five o'clock in the afternoon the Head Constable Faqir Muhammad came up with them. Both sides opened fire at sight, but the Head Constable's force, which had received some reinforcements, quickly got the upper hand of the raiders and in the end killed them all. Thus after a pursuit of 24 hours in difficult hill country a border scourge was destroyed by the determination and bravery of a subordinate Police Officer and a few stout-hearted men under his command.

Another story well illustrates the possible dangers of rural life well inside India, hundreds of miles away from the North-West Frontier, where the police expect to be involved in desperate adventures as ordinary incidents of their daily life. Sub-Inspector Yousuf Hussain, who was in charge of a police station in the Mainpuri district, heard one night of the presence of a large, well-armed gang of dacoits at a place 10 miles away from the police station. Although he had only four of his subordinates with him armed with one shot gun and two police muskets, he immediately went after the gang, tracked them for some time and came up with them just as they were starting a dacoity. He got on to the roof of a house and opened fire on the gang. The latter who had no less than 15 fire-arms between them, including modern rifles, responded briskly, but the five policemen drove them out of the village after wounding five or six of them. Owing to the darkness of the night

immediate pursuit was unavailable, but the wounded members of the gang were afterwards arrested, with the result that in the end, this gang which was headed by a notorious dacoit leader was entirely broken up.

From the Punjab records of the Police Medal we may quote one story as an example of the many others which can be related in illustration of the bravery and quickness of mind which characterises members of the Indian police of all grades in every province in India. A Sikh Sub-Inspector named Dawindar Singh learned of the whereabouts of a desperate leader of dacoits, for whose arrest the Punjab Government had offered a very handsome reward. Arrangements were made to round up this man and Dawindar Singh accompanied by others succeeded in surrounding the place where the dacoit leader was believed to be hiding. The dacoit, seeing himself surrounded, fired on the police and thus disclosed his presence inside a large bush the branches of which reached the ground on all sides. Dawindar Singh immediately leapt off his horse and flung himself into the bush. Both he and the dacoit were exceptionally powerful men, and a desperate struggle ensued until the arrival of others who helped the sub-inspector to secure his man.

We said above that the police in India have got to play the part of local providence in flood, fire and all other incidents and calamities, and the following account of how two British Officers in Bihar and Orissa won their Police Medals well illustrates this. In August 1923 some very serious floods occurred in Arrah town. The Superintendent of Police, Mr. Guise, who had won the Military Cross during the War, and his assistant, Mr. Pearman, were engaged without rest or sleep for three days and nights in the arduous work of extricating people, and in this time they rescued or assisted to rescue no less than 500 people. On the 19th August these two officers noticed some people signalling for help from the roofs of their houses. They were separated by a stream in which a strong current was flowing, but the officers, accompanied by two constables, swam across the current at the great risk of being carried off into the main flood and succeeded in rescuing 130 people in the face of further risks. On the same morning they again swam across a similar channel to a hamlet where the houses were rapidly collapsing, and put heart into the people and effected many rescues at the risk of their lives. Again, on

the same morning, they heard that three women were cut off in a house and although the approach thereto lay through a rapid current of water, Mr. Guise reached the house by means of a rope thrown to him and Mr. Pearman by crawling along the roofs of the adjoining building and using a ladder to bridge gaps. The water had then nearly reached the roofs of the houses, but the two officers succeeded in effecting the rescue of three women and three children who were conveyed to safety along the roofs of houses by means of a ladder. On completing this piece of dangerous work they learned that there were more people in the lane in which this house stood, and they immediately retraced their steps and were just in time to save 24 persons before all the houses in the lane collapsed.

About fifty Police Medals are awarded in India every year, and, of course, their recipients are the most meritorious of a much larger number of candidates for the honour. The stories quoted above were taken practically at random from among the records of the past three or four years only, and it may be safely assumed that incidents similar to those quoted in them are happening somewhere or other in India almost every day of the year.



It would be idle to deny that there is still much fear and distrust of the police on the part of a large number of the people of India, and it would also be idle to attempt to deny that corruption and oppression are still practised by some Police officials, who, however, mostly belong to the lower subordinate ranks. These practices have persisted among Police officials in India from very early times. Readers of books of travel and memoirs of the old Moghul days will find many references to the methods of the Faujdars and Kotwals of those times, whilst much farther back, namely in the well-known drama "The Little Clay Cart", written possibly in the Fourth Century A. D. are to be found criticisms of Police methods which might have been lifted from an Indian newspaper of yesterday. In a matter like this it is impossible to dogmatise or to say confidently that corruption has either increased or decreased of late years, but such indications as we have, point to decrease. Certainly oppressive methods have become increasingly rare, and a case of actual torture by the Police is almost certain to be detected and punished. The higher police officers have for

years kept the suppression of corrupt and oppressive methods in the forefront of their duties and the police force of to-day, from the rank of sub-inspector upwards, is recruited very largely from among men of good birth and good education, a policy, if not initiated, at any rate strengthened by Lord Curzon's Police Commission of 1902. Even constables are now recruited to an appreciable extent from among young men who are at any rate literate. A fact which has some bearing upon this matter of corruption in the Indian Police is that a constable's pay is less than that of many unskilled labourers, and this goes some way towards explaining, although certainly not towards palliating the offence. Also, it must be remembered that it takes two to make a bribery case, and the Indian public has got to do its share towards helping to suppress this evil. But in the light of the examples of devotion to duty, and of public services rendered at the imminent risk of life, which we have given above, examples let it be remembered which can be multiplied indefinitely, it must be apparent that all the sweeping allegations of oppressive and anti-social conduct which are so frequently made against the Indian Police will not stand. During the year 1927 no fewer than thirty-four policemen in India laid down their lives in the performance of their duty whilst two hundred and sixty-eight suffered wounds or other injuries. These are services which cannot but have a cumulative effect on public feeling towards the police, and it is certainly significant that whenever any proposal is made to abolish a police station or police outpost a very strong opposition is invariably raised to this proposal by the people of the locality concerned. An upright and capable police officer is acknowledged by all classes in India to be one of the greatest boons which any locality can have, and it is encouraging to read from time to time in police Administration Reports, as, for example, in the Bihar and Orissa Administration Report, of good feeling and mutual confidence between police and people. As the civic sense strengthens in this country the police will improve, and from this point of view it is greatly to be regretted that the Volunteer Police Bill, which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly by the late Sir Alexander Muddiman during the Delhi Session of 1927, was rejected at Simla in August the same year. The Bill represented an attempt to mobilise men of good will who were prepared to combine together to defeat the forces of anarchy and disorder, in support of the Police. Sir Alexander

had only time to introduce his Bill in the Delhi Session, and when it was brought up again in Simla by his successor as Home Member, Mr. Crerar, it was obvious that a large majority of the opposition in the Assembly regarded it as nothing more than an attempt to organise an army of supporters to be used as a weapon by the Government in times of political and communal trouble. In view of this attitude Mr. Crerar had to withdraw the Bill.



It is clear from what has been said earlier in this chapter that the typical day to day problems confronting the Indian Police are those arising out of the inducements to crimes against person and property in rural areas, which are afforded by natural and social conditions, by the urge of primitive and unbridled passions such as revenge and lust, by the inevitable paucity of regular police, and by a still undeveloped sense of civic responsibility with its necessary consequence of incomplete liaison between police and people. But other more subtle and sophisticated problems have now to be solved by the detective forces of this country. Increased literary and technical knowledge has caused such crimes as bogus bank and company promoting, note and coin forging, confidence tricks and the like to take on an increasing popularity, whilst the growth of commercial houses, banks, and other businesses has brought in its train all manner of embezzlements, forgeries, swindles, too-ingenious speculations and forward operations, and other offences. The spread of communications has enabled criminals to work over wide areas and has given rise to criminal organisations whose operations are inter-provincial or, even, as the Karachi and Calcutta Coining cases reported in subsequent pages will show, international in scope. More and more do the expert investigators of the Provincial Criminal Investigation Departments find their time and energies occupied by the refinements of up-to-date crime, and the annual police reports, bear ample, if bald, testimony to their success. The Indian Criminal Investigation Departments are well abreast of modern conditions, and it should not be forgotten that it was they who pioneered and established the use of finger prints, and that many of the best improvements in the science of late years are the products of Indian brains.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the use of modern instruments and methods of criminal detection is confined to the

specialist Criminal Investigation Departments of the different provinces. All over India, the district police are re-adjusting their ideas and their practice to changed and changing conditions. In particular they are now employing extensively the *modus operandi* method of detection. They do not now investigate such crimes as burglary—the investigating officer's *bete noire*—as individual cases. They investigate them in the mass, noting characteristic methods employed, plotting on their crime maps the location of offences which show constant and individual peculiarities, and thus tracing the movements of gangs and, in the end running them to earth. Much success has attended the use of this method which is being extended all over India.



During the calendar year 1927 although no striking increase or decrease in crime was reported in any province most of them showed slight fluctuations of an upward tendency. In most provinces, too, burglaries and crimes against property generally, showed a slight increase, but not enough to make it worth while to comment on it. Several provincial reports make special mention of inter-communal tension and trouble, and from them it is possible to understand something of the strain that was thrown on the police during these widespread outbreaks. As they have been described already at length in the opening chapter of this Report there is no need to say anything more about them here.



Delhi Province, in which the new capital of India is situated, reports no noteworthy change from the previous year in the amount of crime reported during 1927. For the past year or two, however, burglaries in and about New Delhi have given rise to much uneasiness among the residents and to some anxiety on the part of the authorities. In order to cope with this form of crime, the superior investigating staff has been slightly increased, and, as a result, the senior Superintendent of Police reports a gratifying increase in the percentage of successful investigations and prosecutions. A notable act of heroism on the part of a police constable occurred during the year. As part of the operations against the dacoit gangs in the United Provinces, a party of police from the Meerut district raided a house in Old Delhi City in February 1928

but were repulsed, the dacoits wounding the police inspector in charge of the party, and also killing a private citizen and wounding three others. The gang escaped for the time being, but were believed to be still in Delhi. A police guard was therefore put on the bridge across the Jumna to watch travellers going towards Meerut, and, at the beginning of April, one of the most desperate and brutal of the dacoit leaders was identified as he tried to cross the bridge. The police who were watching the bridge were unarmed whereas the dacoit had two pistols. However, he was challenged by a constable named Kishen Lal of the Meerut district, who was immediately fired at and mortally wounded by the dacoit. In spite of his fatal wound Kishen Lal closed with the dacoit, and held him until his comrades came up. The brave constable died a few minutes after the dacoit had been secured.



Financial stringency has, of late years, prevented the Bombay Government in spending as much on their Police as they would have wished. But the policy of retrenchment forced on them by circumstances has not hitherto been reflected in the figures of crime, which showed little change in 1927 from the figures reported during the previous year.

Perhaps the most important case handled by the Bombay police during 1927—certainly the case which attracted the most attention—was the one known as the Duzdap Coining Conspiracy in which some Europeans were concerned. On January the 31st 1927 a Customs appraiser at Karachi discovered a wooden box concealed in a recently imported cylinder which the clearing agents had been asked to handle for a well-known Karachi firm. When it was opened, it was seen that the box contained six dies for turning out rupees. This discovery was, of course, reported to the Criminal Investigation Department in Sind, and an Indian police officer, Rai Sahib Narayan Das, was put in charge of the enquiry. From this small beginning, the Rai Sahib, by industrious and brilliant investigation was able to elicit evidence of the existence of a conspiracy with ramifications in Quetta, Duzdap, Karachi, Birmingham, London and Liverpool. A retired Army man named Farrell had conspired with certain members of a firm of Indian contractors, whose acquaintance he had made in Quetta, to start an illicit mint at Duzdap in Persian territory. A retired conduc-

tor named Dickinson had brought the dies from Birmingham in 1924, having secured them through a man named Wheeler. Overwhelming documentary and other evidence was collected through Rai Sahib Narayan Das's exertions and a complete conspiracy case was made out against Dickinson and Wheeler and four members of the firm of contractors above-mentioned, and in April 1928 they were all sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. Farrell escaped through turning approver. Rai Sahib Narayan Das visited England, and, by his grasp of the case and his sound investigation, earned the commendation of the India Office and of the Director of Public Prosecutions. In passing sentence on the gang on 12th April, 1928, the Judicial Commissioner in Sind observed: "If the scheme had worked out as was intended they (the gang) would have flooded not merely India, but the surrounding countries also with counterfeit coin."



During 1927 and the first months of 1928, crime in the United Provinces, if anything, showed a slight tendency to decrease when compared with the crime of the previous year. Offences against property, particularly dacoities and burglaries, continued to decrease. Unfortunately, however, communal troubles continued throughout the year and gave the Police much extra work and anxiety, and serious disturbances occurred in Bareilly, Cawnpore and other places. We have seen, however, that in spite of these distractions, the work of crushing the formidable dacoit gangs of the Province has gone brilliantly forward, and on this account alone the provincial authorities, and particularly the police, can look back on the year with much satisfaction.



Assam reports that the figures of crime remained practically stationary during 1927 at their previous year's level and that the Police met with a satisfactory measure of success in dealing with the cases reported. Offences against the person declined in numbers, but there was a slight increase in offences against property, this increase occurring mostly in the districts to which immigrants from Bengal mostly resort. Many of these immigrants have criminal tendencies and the newly settled areas to which they go are naturally deficient in accessible communications. Add to this

that the strength of the Police in this area has not increased in proportion to the rate of immigration and it will be seen that the authorities are not in a position to deal adequately with the results of the inflow of new population. However, the Assam Government is giving full attention to this side of its duties. New Police stations are being opened and proposals for increases in the strength of the Police are now being considered.



The Madras Police report fails to discover any features of exceptional interest. As the result of unfavourable economic conditions in some parts of the Presidency there was a slight increase in crime, particularly in crime against property, and detection was not quite up to the very high level achieved in the province during the one or two years immediately preceding 1927. It is satisfactory, however, to note that the public peace was maintained almost inviolate throughout the year.



The Central Provinces are almost alone in reporting an appreciable increase in crime during 1927, and there, the reported figures are about 10 per cent. in excess of those of the previous year. The increase occurred principally in house-breakings and thefts, a fact which points to economic conditions being at the root of the trouble. There was no falling off, however, in the quality of Police working during the year in spite of the increase in crime, and, also, in spite of the very strained relations which existed throughout the year between Hindus and Muhammadans. In practically every district of the Central Provinces there was anxiety on this account. The outbreak of rioting in Nagpur city in September has been already discussed, as also has the week of sporadic rioting in Jubbulpore during the celebration of the Dusserah festival. It is particularly satisfactory to note that the behaviour of the police throughout this very anxious and trying time earned practically unanimous praise and in no case was there any reason to suspect their impartiality.

In February 1927, a Parsi propounded a fantastic scheme for expelling the British from Nagpur and for this purpose he urged the collection of arms and explosives. Later on, his scheme took the shape of disobedience of the Arms Act, and he got a number

of men and women to court arrest by the Police by marching publicly through the streets of Nagpur carrying weapons the possession of which without a licence from the authorities was unlawful under the Arms Act. This demonstration was continued for some months and a number of people were arrested, but tactful handling of the situation by the Police kept the movement within narrow limits, and the conviction of the Parsi, and his sentence to four years' imprisonment brought this troublesome affair practically to an end.

❦ ❦ ❦

The Bengal report for 1927 reveals no features of special interest as regards ordinary crime, although in some parts of the province, economic distress led to an increase in crimes against property. But in certain districts a heavy strain was thrown on the force by the prevailing tension between the two great communities, and this together with a passive disobedience movement in certain places, and labour strikes in Calcutta and elsewhere, made the work of the Police during the year extraordinarily difficult and strenuous and unfortunately the signs are that these things will have to be looked upon as normal features of the life of Bengal henceforth. One notable case of international importance occurred during the year. This was the Tibetan coining and note forgery case, during the investigation of which the Bengal Criminal Investigation Department, working on certain clues obtained from Darjeeling, discovered a factory in Calcutta for making Tibetan notes and coins. The investigation resulted in the arrest of five men, of whom three were sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment. Notwithstanding all their difficulties and preoccupations, the work of the Bengal Police during the year was distinctly successful and the year as a whole was one on which the Bengal Police can look back with satisfaction.

❦ ❦ ❦

In the Punjab the outstanding features of the year's work were the handling of inter-communal trouble and rioting and the investigation and prosecution of cases arising out of these, effective action against dacoits, robbers, and organised gangs of burglars and thieves, and extensive use of the *modus-operandi* system, which is working well, especially in the detection of offences against property, the special campaign against cattle-thieves in the south-

eastern districts of the Punjab, detection of an important gang of forgers and utterers of Government Currency notes, and large seizures of illicitly possessed arms and drugs. There was a slight increase in crime during 1927, for which a rise in thefts and burglaries is partly responsible. In the south-eastern districts of the Punjab the increase was mainly due to the efforts of the special Cattle-theft staff—to which we shall return in a moment—better reporting, but the inter-communal tension which was the outstanding feature of the year was responsible to no small extent for the increase in crime in other parts of the province because it kept the attention of the Police constantly riveted to it. We showed in the first chapter of this report that two serious riots occurred at Lahore and Multan. These kept a large body of Police busy for a long time and contingents had to be sent to these two cities from all over the Punjab. Although actual bloodshed on a large scale occurred only in Lahore and Multan, the tension in the province was acute throughout 1927, and a feeling of unrest and insecurity pervaded not only the urban areas, but infected the rural population also. The police had constantly to be in readiness for inter-communal clashes and their energies were thus diverted to an appreciable extent from their more normal duties.

Out of 484 murder cases sent for trial no fewer than 293 ended in conviction. Some of these murders were committed during Hindu-Muhammadan rioting, and their investigation presented innumerable difficulties, the most important of which was the escape of practically all the perpetrators of deeds of violence before the sporadic attacks on isolated wayfarers, which were one of the outstanding features of the riots, were brought under control. Other difficulties arose out of the fact that the evidence of the contending communities was scanty in some cases and tainted in others. Communal pressure was brought to bear on witnesses who found it difficult to resist this particular form of influence. Yet, in spite of these and similar difficulties, the majority of cases sent up for trial, as a result of the Lahore disturbance, resulted in conviction.

During 1927, the Punjab Police had the satisfaction of wiping out two bands of armed dacoits who had been responsible for a number of dacoities and murders in six or seven districts.

In last year's Report we gave a fairly detailed account of the special measures now being taken by the Police of the Punjab and

the United Provinces acting in concert to suppress cattle-theft. We saw there that cattle-theft takes place in certain parts of the south-eastern Punjab, particularly in the Canal districts, on such a scale as to present a very serious menace to the peace and welfare of that part of India. For various reasons, the chief of which is the difficulty of recovering stolen animals through police agency, many cattle-thefts are not reported, and the victims prefer to apply to the Bhunga market mentioned earlier in this Chapter. This, of course, is a thoroughly unsatisfactory state of affairs, and as a result of a conference held in 1925 between police officers of the Punjab and the United Provinces, a special police force to deal with cattle-thefts in the south-eastern Punjab came into existence. Throughout 1927, this special force continued to work in the Ambala, Karnal, Gurgaon and Rohtak districts of the south-eastern Punjab, and it also co-operated with similar special bodies of police formed for the suppression of cattle lifting by the Governments of the United Provinces and the Delhi Province. Numerous conferences and meetings have been held to co-ordinate measures and exchange views, not only between police officers of the British provinces concerned, but also between them and the police of the Patiala, Nabha, Jhind and Malerkotla States. The amount of work done by the special cattle police in the Punjab can be seen from the following table:—

District.	Cases registered.	Persons sent up under			No. of cattle recovered.
		C. T. Act.	(109, C.P.C.)	(110, C. P. C.)	
Karnal	362	83	28	658	29
Gurgaon	154	...	...	157	107
Rohtak	204	...	6	130	79
Ambala	28	...	...	42	2
TOTAL	748	83	34	987	217

Throughout 1927, as in the previous year, the number of cattle-theft cases reported increased steadily. This increase has been due to the efforts now made to obtain more complete registration of this class of crime. Many amazing examples of the extensive ramifications of cattle-thefts in the south-eastern Punjab have come to the notice of the officers engaged in this work, and the following is as good as any for the purpose of illustrating the complexity of

cattle-theft cases. A sub-inspector of cattle-theft police staff went to interview certain criminals in Delhi jail. He persuaded two of them to make a full disclosure of all the offences committed by them, and also to explain how cattle lifters and the persons who run the clearing-houses for the receipt and disposal of stolen cattle carry on their business. One of these two men had taken part in no less than 99 cattle-thefts over a range of country about the size of the north of England, and he had been associated with almost a hundred accomplices during the commission of these offences. On the whole, the special cattle-theft police have no reason to be disappointed in the results of their work hitherto. They are still at the beginning of a task of great difficulty and complexity. Natural, social and economic conditions all make cattle thieving a very popular form of crime in India, and it will be a long time before the police can gain the absolute confidence of the people whom they are trying to help, and, without absolute confidence on their part, full success will not be obtained.



In Burma there was a negligible increase in the number of cases reported during 1927, as compared with the reports made during the previous year. Unfortunately, however, most forms of serious crimes show an increase. Dacoities are more by 32, robberies by 31, fire-arm cases by 61 and murders by 112. The figures for all forms of crime appeared favourable with the previous year's figures by the end of October after which a mild epidemic of important crime broke out in a number of districts notably in the Pegu division which had suffered from a phase of somewhat serious political activities. Daily gangs of dacoits appearing in certain districts gave a good deal of trouble during the early part of 1927, but were subsequently broken up. The system of open season patrols along the Siamese border were continued during the year with good results.



In Bihar and Orissa the tense feeling that existed between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities called for the exercise of continual vigilance on the part of the police. In many places in the province the various communal festivals gave rise to great excitement and anxiety and riots mostly of minor importance

occurred in several towns. In spite of the widespread unrest due to inter-communal trouble the number of true cases reported to the police during 1927 was the least on record since the province was constituted, whilst the percentage of convictions obtained was the highest since 1916. Dacoities were appreciably more numerous than they had been during the two previous years, but the police met with much success in dealing with them. Robberies, burglaries and thefts decreased as compared with 1926 and in these cases the police met with very gratifying success. The Bihar and Orissa Police Report for 1927, shows one or two disquieting features. In particular the number of dastardly attempts to derail trains was a cause of grave anxiety to the police and strikes and unrest on the railway gave them much extra work. Another somewhat alarming feature is the frequency of suicides of women in Orissa. The most cheering features of the whole report are the repeated references to the growing good feeling between police and public and the increasing confidence which the latter experience in the good will and capacity of the former.

Recent events in India make it eminently desirable to continue the remarks on communism in this country which have appeared in previous reports for during 1927-28 the movement has come more and more into the open and its leaders have succeeded, temporarily at least, in establishing a very considerable influence over large bodies of discontented industrial or railway employees.



Up to a year or two ago, the man in the street was not immediately concerned with the activities of Communists in this country. He was aware, in a general way, of the desire and the efforts of foreign agents to sow the seeds of Communism in India, and his complacency was occasionally disturbed by press accounts of prosecutions of indigenous Bolshevists, such as those convicted in the Cawnpore Conspiracy case of 1924. But as no practical results of the Communist campaign were visible, he was usually content to regard Communism in India either as the somewhat fatuous occupation of a few unbalanced agitators, whose influence for evil was exceedingly small, or as the substitute for Bridge of a few notoriety hunting would-be intellectuals. Even when the disorders in China and Java were cited as examples of the powerful and baneful effect which Communists had been able to achieve among

Oriental populations, the average man in this country was wont to argue: " But India is different. Bolshevism is the negation of religion. Its doctrines cannot possibly take a hold on a people whose social fabric is based on religion. Bolshevism connotes equality of status. India is the home of caste and feudalism. The doctrines of Communism can never take deep root in this country." Such contentions were difficult to refute; but the march of events during the last few years has shown the folly of minimising the importance and danger of Communist activities in India. The leaders of the Communist movement in Europe have repeatedly declared that the first step in the conversion of the masses of the East to Communism is to arouse among them discontent with the prevailing conditions of life. " First disturb their placid contentment and then inculcate in their minds the principles of Communism." That this policy has been pursued in India with vigour during the last two years is evident from the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties, which are manned by Communists and have grown in strength and influence under the able guidance of Communist emissaries from abroad.

In " India in 1926-27 ", reference was made to the formation of Workers' and Peasants' Parties in Bombay and Calcutta. After the conviction of George Allison, *alias* Donald Campbell, who was mainly responsible for the organisation of these Parties, a very able and energetic successor was found in the person of Philip Spratt, of whom brief mention was also made in last year's volume. Spratt is a graduate of Cambridge University, who came to India in December 1926, ostensibly on behalf of the Labour Research Department, London. This organisation is under the control of the Central Council of Trade Unions in Moscow, and there is little doubt that Spratt's mission to India was mainly in Communist interests. At any rate, it is certain that he has been a powerful influence in strengthening the organisation of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. Both he and Allison were in a position to instruct local Labour agitators in the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, and, but for their guidance, it is unlikely that the Workers' and Peasants' Parties would have been able to secure the hold they now have over the discontented workers on the railways and in the jute and cotton industries.

It is doubtful, however, whether the indigenous labour agitator is a Communist at heart. He is ordinarily a man of little educa-

tion, who has acquired a smattering of Bolshevist theory, and who is able to impress the ignorant workers with violent harangues inter-larded with the catchwords and slogans employed by the Communist tub-thumper all over the world. He must, nevertheless, be given credit for an energy and pushfulness which is not apparent among the ranks of the "bourgeois" Trade Unionists. While pursuing, on the whole, a sane course in their dealings with Labour, the Right Wing of the All-India Trade Union Congress have remained somewhat aloof from contact with the worker himself, and have, therefore, not succeeded in "getting under his skin".

The discontent among the cotton mill workers in Bombay and the railway employees at Lillooah, furnished the Workers' and Peasants' Parties with an opportunity of which they were quick to take advantage. They addressed meetings of the strikers, organised picketing, and held out promises of an early and favourable settlement of the workers' grievances. Philip Spratt was most active in Bombay until his departure for Calcutta in March, 1928, and, with his Communist underlings, encouraged the Lillooah strikers to stand firm, and induced other railway and jute workers to down tools.

The dislocation of the jute and cotton industries and the railway services naturally focussed the attention of the press and public on the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. It became evident that the theory of Communism was being translated into practice. A handful of agitators had succeeded in temporarily paralysing essential services and important industries, and the law-abiding citizen found himself seriously inconvenienced by these manifestations of Communist doctrines.

The strikes in Bombay and Bengal were hailed with delight by Communists abroad, and much space was given in Communist publications to the labour troubles in India and to the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. The extracts given below are from foreign Communist periodicals, such as the *Masses of India* (the organ of the Indian Communist group in Europe) and the *International Press Correspondence*:—

"It is the duty of a true friend of the peasants and workers . . . . to prepare them for the great struggle which alone will bring them happiness and freedom, as it has brought to the pea-

sants of Russia and is bringing to the peasants of China . . . ."
—*Masses of India, April, 1927.*

"The Communist Party must harness this awakened revolutionary proletarian energy and give it an organised expression. The Communist Party must be in the midst of every struggle and endeavour to develop it . . . . The proletarian movement must be led by the class—conscious vanguard organised in the Communist Party . . . ."—*Masses of India, November, 1927.*

Alleging that the threat of a general strike secured favourable terms for the strikers at Kharagpur, the *Masses of India, February, 1928*, remarked:—"The Indian Labour movement must learn very valuable lessons from the experience of the Kharagpur workers. The most important lesson is that the general strike is the most powerful and effective weapon that the working class possess. The second lesson is that the workers' struggle can be conducted only by the workers themselves. The third lesson is that the true defenders and leaders of the Indian working class are the Communists and the Workers' and Peasants' Party . . . ."

"It is only a victorious revolution on the part of the workers and peasants that can put an end . . . . to all the misery and want resulting from the rule of British capital . . . ."—*International Press Correspondence, 14th March, 1928.*

"All signs go to show that the period of stagnation in the Workers' and Peasants' movement . . . . is now approaching its end. The political revival now taking place in India is creating conditions favourable for the mobilisation of the masses . . . ."—*International Press Correspondence, 21st March, 1928.*

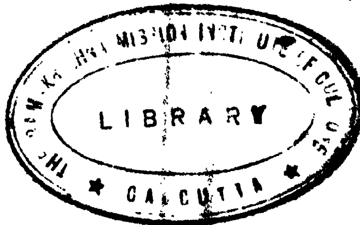
The following is an extract from a telegram dated 24th November, 1927, from Lozovasky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow, to the Cawnpore Congress and the All-India Trade Union Congress:—"In the struggle against alien oppressors and national exploiters, the working class of India and the Trade Unions may always count upon the aid of the Red International of Labour Union and all its sections."

One Benjamin Francis Bradley arrived in Bombay in September, 1927, and, like Philip Spratt, took a most active part in the organisation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and in work among the cotton mill and railway employees. He addressed numerous meetings, and was closely associated with the Bombay

Communist group in organising the strikers and encouraging them in their struggle against the millowners.

While the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties were the most prominent feature of the Communist campaign in India during the year, it must not be forgotten that other ways and means of bringing about the much desired upheaval of the masses continued to occupy the attention of Communist plotters abroad. M. N. Roy's organisation has still continued to function, though his mission to China, where he occupied himself in propaganda work among the Indian residents, necessarily hampered the activities of his satellites in Europe. Now that he has returned to Moscow, signs of renewed activity are apparent.

During the year, the nationalist press in India has devoted some attention to the organisation known as the League against imperialism, which, from its headquarters in Berlin, has sent out much offensive literature dealing with "British oppression" in India and other countries. Although this organisation is not professedly Communist, there is little doubt that it is used as a link with Communist sources. There are some well-known Communists on its Executive, and its support of revolutionary movements in "Imperialistic" countries would appear to be Communist in inspiration. A resolution passed at the Madras session of the Indian National Congress welcomed the formation of the League, and the Congress later agreed to affiliation with it, and contributed financially to its support.



CHAPTER X.

The Provinces.

(II).

THE TRANSFERRED DEPARTMENTS.

In the last chapter we saw what the term Transferred Department meant and which departments of Government have been Transferred. The list of these departments is a long one, and in this chapter we can deal with only four or five of the more important among them. But before we turn to the narrative of the year's activities in these departments, we may glance quickly at the proceedings of a largely attended conference of provincial representatives which met in Delhi on November the 16th, 1927, under the presidentship of Mr. J. Crerar, Home Member, to consider questions in connection with the organisation of new provincial services on the transferred side of the administration. About 35 members, representative of all the provinces, attended and these included Ministers from Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam. In opening the proceedings Mr. Crerar referred to the difficulties experienced by Provincial Governments in working out schemes for the establishment of their new provincial services and he said that it would be advantageous if some general understanding could be reached in regard to matters of principle, and if also, a certain measure of uniformity could be secured in practice as far as was compatible with the varying circumstances of the different provinces. Preliminary views were exchanged on the questions of whether new separate services should be created to replace certain existing all-India services, what system of recruitment and what machinery would prove most suitable for this purpose, and how far inter-provincial uniformity, particularly in respect of remuneration, was desirable or feasible? The Conference then divided itself into four sub-committees to report on educational services, engineering services, agricultural, veterinary and other services, and, fourthly,

on general questions of leave, pension, and so on. No attempt was made to reach rigid conclusions which would be applicable to all the provinces, but it was found that the reports of the sub-committees were likely to afford valuable guidance to Provincial Governments in completing their schemes for the creation of new provincial services to administer the Transferred Departments.



Local Self-Government has attracted more general attention than, perhaps, any other of the transferred departments. Provincial legislative activity since the Reforms has been devoted more to this than to any other single item, and has centred in the regulation of Municipalities and District Boards (which do for rural areas what municipalities do for urban areas).

From time immemorial, institutions containing the germs of Local Self-Government have existed in India, but they differed essentially from representative institutions as now understood. They were not constructed on the elective principle, were not correlated with the institutions of superior administration, had few definite functions, and were not regarded as representative of the locality by the State, which was inclined to ignore them. During the chaos which preceded British Rule in India, and, also, partly as a result of the administrative changes of the new regimé, they disappeared almost entirely, and British administrators have, consequently, had to build up Local Self-Government in India *ab initio*.

In 1882, Lord Ripon's government made an attempt to convert such local institutions as were in existence into school-houses for full self-government. They issued a resolution declaring that their object was to train the people in the management of their own affairs, and that political education, should, as a rule, be given preference over departmental efficiency. This well-meant effort did not produce the results for which the Indian Government looked. It was inevitable that the infant local bodies should be at first under official guardianship and thus the growth of initiative and self-reliance among those for whose benefit the system was devised, was slow, a circumstance which lessened the attraction of the new bodies for public-spirited men.

A material advance was made in 1918, when the Central Government promulgated fresh general instructions for the development of

local self-governing institutions which reiterated the principles enunciated in 1882, announced a policy of gradual removal of all unnecessary official control, and demarcated the spheres of the State and of local organisations. Hardly had these principles been implemented when the inception of the Reforms handed the control of local self-government over to responsible Ministers. As a result, the development of these organisations has been greatly stimulated in certain ways. Many fresh laws have been enacted, municipal bodies reconstituted on more popular lines, municipal franchises extended, and the powers of local bodies enhanced. Also a desire for experiment became apparent and materialised in many forms. One of the most interesting of these was the revival of the old Village Panchayat or Committee of Elders which in some places were amalgamated and called "Union Boards." The general plan adopted was to place these ancient institutions on a modern legal basis and to provide them with definite powers and functions. While there were a certain number of failures, due chiefly to apathy and unwillingness to shoulder fresh taxation, these experiments have in some parts of India proved popular and satisfactory. Reports show that these new organisations are on the whole serving a useful purpose in the life of the people, though in places they seem more inclined to exercise their judicial functions than to attend to matters like public health and sanitation.

In 1925-26 there were 767 municipalities in British India, with nearly 19,000,000 residents within their limits and an aggregate income of Rs. 16·20 crores. When it is remembered that Calcutta, Bombay and Madras alone hold three million people, the average Indian municipality is seen to be of only moderate size. The great majority of the members of municipal bodies are elected and the proportion of elected members tends to increase steadily. Municipal functions relate mainly to public health, safety, convenience and instruction, but as only about 10 per cent. of the population of British India live in towns, it is clear that municipal administration cannot as yet affect the majority of the people and help to educate them in civic duties in the manner desired. Therefore, greater interest and importance attaches to the constitution and working of the District Board, which is, in fact, a rural municipality. Nearly every district in British India possesses such a Board, with, usually, two or more sub-district boards subordinate

to it. In Madras and Bihar and Orissa, there are also Union Committees while in Bengal there are both Union Committees and Union Boards. In 1926-27, District Boards, and sub-district boards, Union Committees with the Union Boards in Bengal combined, numbered 3,735. Of the nearly 43,200 members of these bodies about, 70 per cent. were elected, and 30 per cent. represented officials (*ex-officio* and nominated members). The tendency is for the elected element to increase. The receipts of these institutions (excluding Union Committees and Union Boards in Bengal) aggregated in 1926-27 a little over Rs. 15·1 crores, and their chief activities were education, medical relief, and civic works.

Such big cities as Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon naturally lead the way in municipal progress in India. Improvement and Development Trusts have been operating for years in these and other important industrial cities and have done much good. Loans have been floated for such objects as housing schemes, the abolition of slums, the provision of open spaces, the alignment of streets, and the segregation of offensive trades, and evidences of progress are not wanting.

From the facts and figures cited, it must be evident that a very real advance has been made in de-officialising local institutions and opening them up as fields for popular initiative and enterprise. A review of local self-government institutions as a whole reveals the prevalence of certain general tendencies. The enhanced powers of local legislatures in these organisations is reflected in increased activity in the organisations themselves. The non-co-operation movement hampered progress in local bodies to a great extent, but as Mr. Gandhi's ban did not extend to them non-co-operators became members in many places. Here and there the non-co-operation members subordinated their political views to their municipal or board duties, but in other places, they carried their politics into the local bodies. Keen interest is taken in many parts of India in elections to both Municipalities and District Boards. It is, of course, impossible to make any general statement, which will be true of all local bodies, as to the way in which they have worked. Where keen and public-spirited men have entered them, their work has been good. Where men of inferior fibre have been elected, their work has been indifferent or bad. It is not easy, even now, to form an opinion on the post-Reforms working of Indian Local Self-

Government, for financial stringency, political stress, and lack of experience have all affected the local bodies, and it is difficult to decide what weight to allow to these factors in making up our general calculus.



Coming now to the progress of Local Self-Government during the year 1927-28 we may begin by mentioning the more important measures of Local Self-Government legislation undertaken during that period. A non-official Bill was introduced to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, with the object of *inter alia* of abolishing nominations to the Madras Municipal Council and arranging for the proper representation of minorities by co-option by the Council, the reintroduction of the annual election of a Chairman who should be unpaid, and making somewhat less restrictive the rules relating to the admission of voters. Another non-official Bill, which was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council, aimed at the amendment of the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919. Its object is to provide that the Commissioner, who is the chief executive officer, should be appointed and removed by, and be wholly responsible to, the Council of the Corporation and that his salary should be materially reduced. The previous sanction of the Governor General was accorded to the introduction of a non-official Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and the Madras General Clauses Act, 1891. The object of this measure is to establish beyond doubt the right of all citizens to the use of all roads, etc., maintained from public funds.

Three non-official Bills to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, were introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council with the object of extending the franchise and lowering the qualification of electors for district local boards.

Another non-official bill to amend the Bombay City Municipal Act, 1888, was introduced with a similar purpose; it also aimed at providing for the due representation of backward and depressed classes by reserving separate seats for them.

In the United Provinces a non-official Bill was introduced in the local legislature to amend the United Provinces Town Areas Act,

1914, with the object of introducing the elective element in the panchayats and giving them greater powers without impairing their efficiency. The previous sanction of the Governor General was accorded to the introduction of a non-official Bill which aimed at repealing a large part of the existing Local Self-Government Legislation in order to introduce a new form of self-government into the rural areas by dividing each district into "Unions" and establishing for each union, a Union Board for the performance of executive duties, a Union Bench for the trial of certain specified criminal offences, and a Union Court for the disposal of certain civil suits.

As a result of a ruling of the Punjab High Court, a Bill was introduced in the Punjab Legislative Council to validate up to 15th November 1927 the imposition of the Haisiyat or occupation, Tax by District Boards in the Punjab. The Bill was passed by the provincial legislature and assented to by His Excellency the Governor General. The question of the levy of this tax in future is at present under the consideration of the Government of India. Another Bill to provide for the appointment of Executive Officers in municipalities was introduced in the provincial council and referred to a select committee, which presented its report to the council at the end of November 1927 after suggesting certain changes.

The previous sanction of the Governor General was accorded to the introduction in the Burma Legislative Council of a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to municipalities in the province. This measure has been undertaken with a view to revising the existing law thoroughly so as to suit the present administrative and political conditions. It provides among other things for the constitution of school boards and hospital committees and the appointment of Chief Executive Officers.

A non-official Bill to amend the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Act, 1885, was introduced in the provincial legislative council and circulated for opinion. It aimed at the establishment of separate electorates for Muslims as it was feared that under the system of joint electorates adequate representation of that community on District Boards could not be secured. Two other non-official Bills to amend the same act were introduced in the council with the object of removing the restriction that only members of a district board shall be eligible for election as chairman, and of

providing for a new office of President who would preside at meetings instead of the chairman.

The Central Provinces Village Sanitation and Public Management Amendment Bill, 1927, mentioned in the last year's summary was referred to a Select Committee, who suggested certain amendments. Sanction was accorded to the introduction in the Central Provinces Council of a Bill to amend the Central Provinces Village Panchayat Act, 1920, in order to encourage the development of panchayats upon lines which offered a better hope of success. The Bill was passed by the local legislature. The Council also passed a non-official Bill to amend the Central Provinces Municipalities Act, 1922. Its object was to fix the proportions of selected and nominated members respectively of Municipal Committees and to remove the disqualification which rendered a person sentenced to transportation or imprisonment for a term exceeding six months ineligible for election, nomination, or selection as a member of a committee. Both these bills were assented to by the Governor of the Central Provinces and the Governor-General.



Of the actual working of local bodies during the year 1926-27, the latest year for which information from the provinces is available, there is little to report from Madras. There are now 24 district boards, in the Presidency. Three district boards including the new Kistna board, and one taluk board, were given the privilege of electing the president. Two taluk boards and two union boards were dissolved and reconstituted during the year, as the old bodies had been found incompetent to discharge their statutory functions. Two municipal councils also were superseded on the ground of incompetency. The Madras Local Authorities Entertainments Act empowering local bodies to levy an amusement tax, came into force in September 1927.

In Bombay the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme attracted a great deal of public interest. The Legislative Council decided to complete part of the original scheme and reasonable progress was made, notwithstanding one or two mishaps.

Twenty-five new chawls in the Industrial Housing Scheme were opened for occupation by the working classes. Rents were substan-

tially reduced, and, at the close of the year, ranged from Rs. 7 to Rs. 5 per mensem. Activities in departmental schemes in the suburban areas of Bombay were at a standstill during the year, except for certain road and water-supply schemes.

The Bihar and Orissa Administration Report for 1926-27 reports a continuance of the steady deterioration in the standard of municipal administration which has been mentioned in earlier reports. Some of the importat factors contributing to this result are financial mismanagement and laxity of supervision. The incidence of taxation remains at the low figure of Rs. 2-0-9 per head of population, and in ten municipalities it is still less than Re. 1. In one municipality arrears have been allowed to pile up to the figure of Rs. 83,000. Remissions are still frequently granted on too lavish a scale, but the figures for 1926-27 denote a slight improvement in this respect. Eight municipalities closed the year with no balance in hand, whilst the balances of six others were insufficient to meet the liabilities they had already contracted. The total liabilities of no less than 15 municipalities were in excess of the total assets, even after making allowance for uncollected taxes. The absence of proper supervision is reflected in the condition of roads, drains, latrines, wells and public markets. The defective sanitation of most municipalities has become a serious menace to public health, and various forms of intestinal disease are now endemic in some of the larger towns. As in former years, a few municipalities stood out as exceptions to the general rule of incompetence. The record of rural self-governing units is, happily, less depressing. There is no doubt that most of the non-official members of the district boards take a keen interest in local affairs, and the figures of attendance at the monthly meetings continued to be very satisfactory and the relations of most boards with the local officials underwent a change for the better. The aggregate income for the year 1926-27 was about 19 lakhs in excess of the previous year's figure and represents something like one third of the revenues of the province.

Many initial difficulties have been experienced by the Union Boards recently set up under the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act, and the Provincial Government have been compelled to defer any large extension of the Act until further experience has been gained of the working of existing Union Boards and of the possibility of exercising close supervision over them.

In Bengal the municipalities continued their slow and spasmodic, but nevertheless interesting struggle towards better things. In 22 municipalities, realisations were either equal to or in excess of the current demand, and in six others they were over 99 per cent. of the demand. Over the whole province, the percentage rose from 94·3 to 95·6 per cent. The low and unsatisfactory results in some places can, therefore reasonably be attributed to local conditions, or to some unfortunate sequence of events which has, for the time being, placed the control of municipal affairs in improper hands. This factor is the most likely explanation of errors in assessment and remission and of the weakness in dealing with recalcitrant ratepayers or with fraudulent officials. These adverse features can, however, be eliminated, and continued effort on the part of the Provincial Government to raise the standard of administration will undoubtedly bear fruit in due season. Water supply occupied a large share of attention during the year. There are 29 municipalities with their own water-works, and seven in mill areas get their supply from the local factories. Tube wells have grown in public favour, and many municipalities are experimenting with them. On the whole, the future municipal administration of Bengal may be anticipated if not with optimism, at least with hopefulness. The success achieved in various places in varied directions indicates both that similar results can be obtained elsewhere, and that no hasty generalization can be made, more particularly as it has been shown that failure is not due to any inherent incapacity to manage local affairs successfully. Union Boards in Bengal continue not merely to hold their own but to entrench themselves more firmly as the first line of attack on welfare problems. Several boards are maintaining free primary schools. In Faridpur twenty-six such schools are to be found in the jurisdiction of four Boards. The education of the rural population in the advantages of local self-government is steadily maintained by Circle and District Board Officers. Opposition is gradually diminishing and some districts are now entirely organised into Union Board units.

In the United Provinces the three Improvement Trusts of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow have made considerable progress in their schemes for town improvement. At Allahabad, for instance, several schemes that were being worked in 1926 have advanced a definite stage during 1927. One scheme includes the making of

a model village consisting of 48 houses with adequate air spaces in between. In both Cawnpore and Lucknow, housing and road schemes have been pushed well forward.

The financial position of District Boards in the United Provinces continues to be unsatisfactory. Increasing expenditure on education, and ambitious schemes for town improvement impose a heavy drain on the resources of the boards, and the need for fresh taxation is chronic. Communal antagonism has penetrated into the affairs of boards, and while it impairs the efficiency of their administration it adds to the sterility of their deliberations. Nearly nineteen per cent. of the meetings held were either abortive or had to be adjourned. But, in spite of the strain under which district boards have to labour, indications of progress are not lacking. Education, for example, is making a rapid advance, and is receiving increased attention. Measures for improving sanitation and water supply, and for the control and treatment of diseases are being progressively organized and financed. Considerable headway has been made in the provision of qualified dais to the rural areas for maternity and child welfare work.

Reviews on municipal boards are, on the whole, more favourable than on the district boards. These also have not escaped from the prevailing communal tension, and at times party strife has been acute. Their financial position, however, was not on the whole satisfactory. The total expenditure exceeded the total income by Rs. 11¼ lakhs, and while indebtedness increased investment declined. Fourteen towns now enjoy the use of pipe water. Eleven towns employ electrical energy, two of which, Aligarh and Muttra, started their installations in 1927, and licences in the case of two others have been issued or are under consideration.

In general, criticism on the Panchayats in the United Provinces is favourable. There is no doubt that on the whole the system has taken root, and that, in spite of many buffetings in various places, its popularity is increasing. In Benares, for instance, not only did panchayats arrange in consultation with the medical officer of health for improved sanitation, but they also helped in the establishment of seed depots, arranged for manure pits outside villages and devised other details of local improvement. In Rohilkhand several panchayats obtained a new type of plough for the purpose of demonstration.

In the Central Provinces the number of District Councils and Municipalities was the same as in the previous year, but a new independent Mining Local Board in Chhindwara district was constituted and a new municipality in Kamptee was established. The affairs of one large Municipality, Akola, were managed directly by Government through a special office as the elected Committee was dissolved on account of its irresponsible and inefficient conduct of business. The Government grant to district councils amounted to nearly Rs. 45½ lakhs, a sum equal to fifty-five per cent. of their total income, and a similar grant to Municipal Committees totalled Rs. 8 lakhs, or 10 per cent. of the total receipts (including extra-ordinary and Debt) of all committees. These grants were much greater than have ever been made before, and as a result the total income of District Councils and Municipal Committees showed a large increase. Their income apart from the Government grants were, however, also greater than in the previous year. In District Councils the main objects of the enhanced expenditure were education, medical relief and civil works, and in Municipal Committees water-supply improvement schemes. An important non-official Bill has recently been introduced, providing, among other matters, that an appeal shall lie against an order dismissing a Municipal servant.

There is nothing much to report regarding the progress of Local Self-Government in Burma during 1926-27. In Rangoon the problem of a pure water-supply was tackled and some progress was made, and various other municipalities also made efforts to improve their water-supply—a task in which they were helped by grants made by the Public Health Board. The general level of sanitation, however, remained low, but indications of the existence of a progressive spirit were provided by the extension in some places of electric light in streets and the adoption of motor transport for conservancy purposes.

Rural Self-Government in Burma has hitherto failed to realise all the hopes that attended its birth in 1921. In particular the subordinate bodies—the Circle Boards and Village Committees—have been left without functions and without revenues. The whole question of rural administration was reviewed in a comprehensive resolution during 1927 and referred in detail to the Local Government Advisory Board. Provincial contributions to district funds were again increased and a special grant was made to the Akyab

District Council which had suffered from the effects of the cyclone in 1926.

Municipalities in Assam paid some attention during the year to water-supplies, road-building, and sanitation, and the degree of interest taken in their duties by office-holders and members was satisfactory. Local Boards spent 29 per cent. of their free income on education, 24 per cent. on communication, and 23 per cent. on public health. It has now been decided to revise the policy of handing over important roads to Local Boards for maintenance—a change which has been found necessary partly because the Boards have neither the staff nor the plant necessary for the increased work involved, and partly because the provincial council has decided to raise a large provincial loan for the improvement of the main lines of communication. The Boards will thus be free to concentrate their money and energy on roads of lesser importance.

The number of village authorities in the province rose slightly and their work is reported to have been satisfactory in a part of the province. The Rural Self-Government Act for Assam has recently been brought into force and it is hoped that this will in time lead to a great increase in the number and efficiency of village authorities.



Turning now to the vastly important subject of Public Health, we may begin by drawing attention to the graph at page 358, from which some indication may be had of the scope of the problems which face the doctors in this country.

The distribution of the population of India, the general poverty, and the backwardness in education make it inevitable that all improvement in sanitary conditions should be almost entirely the work of the state. Climatic and other natural conditions render the people of India prone to many devastating epidemic or contagious diseases which have been stamped out in more fortunate countries. Certain diseases like malaria, hookworm, and kala azar are endemic in many parts of the country and although these are all preventable, their prevention requires an amount of labour, financial expenditure, and determination, which, in existing circumstances, can hardly be looked for from the people themselves. Municipalities and other units of Local Self-Government are, as we have seen,

taking an increasing share in this work, not only by providing medical relief, but also by undertaking schemes for water supply, and by instructing children and parents in elementary notions of hygiene. But, in addition to adverse natural conditions, social and religious customs, and superstition place obstacles in the way of the sanitary reformer. As we so often find in other matters, what in the west is one problem is in India a bundle of problems, each one having its roots deep in traditional usage or religion. Progress therefore in this country is necessarily slow and made against greater obstacles and with greater expenditure of money and labour than elsewhere. Yet in spite of all these things it cannot be contested that conditions of public health improve in India if not from year to year, at any rate from decade to decade. Since the regular census in this country was started half a century ago, the population has grown steadily. The greater part of this growth is no doubt due to the internal and external security and the freedom from famine which followed the establishment of British rule, but some credit is due to the spread of medical facilities and the strengthening of the organisations which deal with epidemics of plague, malaria and other destructive diseases. In the past, every important fair or other crowded gathering was a likely source of disease and death to many thousands, but now-a-days medical arrangements either prevent outbreaks of disease on these occasions or immensely minimise their effects when they cannot be prevented. The number of hospitals, dispensaries, and trained medical practitioners grows yearly and the gap between the demand and the supply of medical facilities in India continually narrows. Every housing, water, and other sanitary scheme undertaken by a municipality or other body is a valuable contribution to the cause of public health and sanitation and such schemes show a regular increase in number. Much is hoped for from the education of the rising generation, and particularly the girls, in elementary rules of hygiene. In every province, earnest efforts are now being made to cope with the adverse conditions outlined above.

During the year 1927 the Government of Madras sanctioned the appointment of health officers in eight municipalities and thirty-four of the eighty-one municipalities in the Presidency now have their own health officers. The Public Health Department was further expanded. The project to investigate the prevalence of

Malaria was consummated by the creation of a special establishment for a period of two years and systematized investigations in four badly affected areas have already been completed by this body. A geographical survey of the incidence of cholera was completed during the year, and experiments were carried out to determine the relative efficacy of two anti-cholera vaccines, one of which is administered by inoculation and the other by the mouth. A geographical survey of plague was also completed during the year. Nearly two million people were vaccinated, and the success rate of 96 per cent. for primary cases shows that the lymph in use is of a very high protective value. The National Health and Baby Week is steadily growing in popularity and has come to stay as an annual function. Nearly 30,000 lectures were delivered during the week, and nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs was collected and spent.

The scheme for the expansion of medical relief in rural tracts was further developed during the year by the sanction of 40 new dispensaries. Facilities for dispensing anti-rabic treatment were extended to several mission hospitals and dispensaries throughout the Presidency. The training of nurses has been revised and the syllabus prescribed by the General Nursing Council of England and Wales has been adopted with modifications suitable to this Presidency. Lastly, considerable progress was made in the campaign against hookworm during the year.

In Bombay the chief epidemic diseases cholera, small-pox, plague, and influenza combined, showed a reduction of thirty per cent. as compared with the previous year. Over 220,000 deaths were registered as due to fevers, malaria alone accounting for 54,000. Additional doctors and dispensaries were provided to cope with this disease and generous distribution of free quinine were made. Infant mortality received a setback during the year as compared with the previous year and the birth-rate exceeded the death-rate by 8·5 per thousand. The Presidency was practically free from cholera, only seventy-three deaths having been reported as due to this cause. Both the number of hospitals and dispensaries and the number of patients treated in them showed substantial increases during the year.

The most striking feature of the vital statistics of Bengal during 1926 is the steady downward trend of the birth-rate accompanied by a death rate which fluctuates considerably but does not yet show

definite signs of a permanent fall to a lower level of mortality. The year was marked by a virulent outbreak of cholera, and the total deaths recorded were 59,000 against 34,000 in 1925. Inoculation was popular, and the amount of vaccine supplied was nearly five times the quantity issued in 1925. The attack on sources of infection was maintained, and the Public Health Department disinfected 17,284 wells and 9,588 tanks. The Publicity Branch of the Department distributed posters and by means of lectures and lantern demonstrations endeavoured to educate the public in the latest preventive and curative methods. Small-pox was responsible for 25,000 deaths, a high number and largely due to an epidemic which affected a part of the province. A very interesting experiment in this connection was the employment of female vaccinators in Murshidabad. These ladies visited 147 villages, delivered 209 lectures to women and 107 to local midwives, and performed 281 primary and 1,492 re-vaccinations among women. The total number of deaths reported from fever in 1926 was 822,000 against 874,000 in 1925. The rate per mille fell from 18·8 to 17·7, and the percentage of fever deaths to total mortality from 75·5 to 71·5. The campaign against malaria took the form, as before, of extensive and widespread distribution of quinine. A noteworthy incident was the visit of Sir Ronald Ross to the Meenglas Scheme in January 1926. A number of anti-malaria societies continued to operate and a few additional societies were organised. The mortality from kala-azar showed a decrease all round, the reduction in the provincial rate being 13·9 per cent. The campaign against this disease still continues, and the district reports show that the number of centres for treatment is steadily increasing. The statistics regarding this disease are still vague and indefinite, but, making every allowance for defective diagnosis and reporting, it appears that the incidence of kala-azar is on the decline.

There was a further extension of school hygiene work, while child welfare continued to attract increasing attention. The public health laboratories at Calcutta and Dacca and the municipal laboratory in Darjeeling examined over 12,000 samples with results that afford ample ground for uneasiness regarding the food supply of the province.

Figures, although not complete, are sufficiently accurate to show that the year 1927 was one of the healthiest on record in the United

Provinces where the number of deaths declined and the death rate decreased from 25·10 per mille of population to 22·59, which is 2·72 lower than the quinquennial average. Infantile mortality also fell. Campaigns against the various diseases were vigorously renewed. Cholera stricken districts were supplied with permanganate of potash and cholera vaccine. Quinine was distributed free in districts attacked by malaria, and grants were sanctioned for anti-cholera and anti-plague measures. The Indian Research Fund Association made grants for research in plague and cholera, and special staffs were appointed to carry these out. The campaign against tuberculosis and leprosy was intensified. The Lucknow Anti-Tuberculosis League has resolved to establish at Lucknow a special hospital for this disease for which the Provincial Government have promised an annual grant of Rs. 32,000. The subscriptions paid and promised for the establishment of the hospital amounted to Rs. 83,649, and the amount actually in hand was Rs. 67,377. The vitally important subject of maternity and child welfare continued to receive attention. The number of maternity and child welfare centres was raised from 27 in 1926 to 33 in 1927. The scheme for the training of midwives on probation proved a success, and 28 candidates qualified at the dai and midwife examination. Baby Week functions were held in 22 places. The question of discontinuing the holding of these weeks in places where maternity and child welfare centres exist was under consideration by the Provincial League.

The health of the province of Bihar and Orissa continued to be generally good, although a widespread epidemic of cholera broke out in the month of April. Energetic preventive measures carried out in connection with the Rath-Jatra festival at Puri were successful in limiting the cases of cholera to a comparatively small number. Anti-malaria measures, including a special malaria survey in the Ranchi Municipality continued to be pushed vigorously.

The engineering staff of the Public Health Department was chiefly engaged on water-supply projects. The increasing reliance on tube-wells for this purpose is a striking feature, and nearly all the wells sunk on behalf of Government have proved successful.

The problem of leprosy in Bihar and Orissa is receiving special attention. A leprosy clinic, opened as an experimental measure in 1926, is working at Bakheri in Champaran, and another has since

been opened in Darbhanga. A third clinic is to be opened experimentally in the district of Balasore, and the construction of buildings for a clinic at Cuttack has been completed. The opening of a Pasteur Institute at Patna for the treatment of anti-rabic cases has now been sanctioned.

In the Central Provinces the year 1927 showed a slight decrease in the birth and death-rates. Small-pox, plague, and influenza in a mild form have been present in many areas, and during the first half of the year Jubbulpore district and the Chhattisgarh Division were badly infected with cholera. A special Welfare Committee of the Red Cross Society has now been constituted to organize and expand maternity and infant welfare work and the Provincial Government made a grant of Rs. 30,000 to be devoted to this object. Welfare centres in thirteen important towns are now in being, and the usual "Baby Week" was held in thirty-four towns. In fact, health measures for women and children have gained a firm hold. The necessity for measures to counteract the scourge of plague, cholera and malaria however, is pressing. Against bubonic plague which is endemic in Nagpur and Jubbulpore "anti-rat" campaigns are pursued, but these are not sufficiently systematic. Unless the measures taken to destroy rats are carried out continuously for a long period both during the time of plague and more especially during the period of immunity there seems little hope of stopping effectually the recurrence of epidemics, and the large town will remain an endemic focus of plague.

In Burma, during 1926, the recorded provincial birth-rate was higher than in the previous year, but there was a rise also in the death-rate, and the excess of births over deaths remained practically unaltered. There was a widespread epidemic of cholera, which caused over six thousand deaths, and made inoculation highly popular. Fevers and dysentery were also responsible for more deaths than in 1925; on the other hand, the incidence of both plague and small-pox was milder. The infantile mortality rate increased to a high figure, but there was good reason to suppose that the registration of births was far from complete, with the result that the mortality rate was exaggerated. Three new infant welfare societies were formed, and "Baby Weeks" were held at sixteen centres. The attendance in hospitals again increased, and over seven thousand patients were treated by medical practitioners sub-

sidised by Government to practise in out-of-the-way places, a system, which, if successful, will probably go far to retard the growth of expenditure on hospitals and dispensaries. A further advance in preventive medicine was marked by the opening of the Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health as a centre of research and instruction.

Both the birth-rate and the death-rate in Assam increased slightly during the year 1926 which witnessed serious outbreaks of cholera in four districts in the Assam Valley. The number of cases of Kala-Azar, which is such a scourge in certain parts of East India, fell appreciably as, also, did the number of deaths due to this disease. It is reported that the new treatment by Urea Stibamine has proved very successful. In pursuance of the campaign against malaria the price of quinine was reduced, this resulting in largely increased sale of the medicine.



Few will be found to deny that lack of education, especially among the masses, is one of the main roots of India's ill, social, economic and political, and that her comparative backwardness in so many spheres of human activity is traceable to this ultimate cause. On the eradication of this defect depends alike the economic uplift of her people, and the full and intelligent realisation of those ideals of nationhood and self-government so long and fervently cherished by her political leaders. It has already been stated that the greatest weakness of the present educational situation is the widespread illiteracy of the masses. It is here that the most urgent need for action lies, but the problem is rendered difficult by factors peculiar to the country. India is a land of vast spaces and her communications are still far in defect of her requirements. Immense numbers of her people are poor and ignorant, bound by iron tradition and age-old custom. Above all, the women teachers, who are the prime instrument of elementary education in all other civilised countries, are scarcely available for this work in India. Educated men drift inevitably from the country-side to the towns and the village schoolmaster is therefore isolated, too feeble a ray to dispel the surrounding gloom of ignorance unaided. But there is a glimmer of hope in the policy of encouraging medical men to settle down and open dispensaries in rural areas for their presence ought to stimulate intellectual life in such places. Yet, in spite

DIAGRAM.

Totals of Literates and Illiterates : British India.



LITERATES
18·6 Million
[each square
represents
1,000,000]

ILLITERATES
229 Million

of these difficulties, steady progress is being made. It is gratifying to notice also that much attention is being given to the enlightenment of the masses in general, and to that of the backward classes and of women in particular. In this report will be found graphs, specially compiled for the purpose of showing the progress of women's education in all branches over a long period. These graphs, together with those which show expenditure of all kinds on education in India, have been specially prepared in the hope that they will be useful to students of Indian social problems, for in the education of India's women will be found one of the most potent of all the forces now at work for her progress and uplift. Owing to the social customs and religious prejudices of large and important sections of the population the difficulties in the way of women's education are especially great. The demand for such education has hitherto been very small and this is the first and greatest obstacle. Another obstacle is the serious dearth of women teachers, who must mainly undertake the instruction of their illiterate sisters, and it is in this respect that the work of the Women's Conference, which we described in Chapter I, may bear its richest fruit. A handful of enlightened individuals, it is true, defying caste, precept and ancient usage have insisted on the education of their womenfolk, but the sum total of these efforts have hitherto been almost negligible. Recently, however, many hopeful signs have appeared. The growing enlightenment of the people is tending to break down the old prejudices, women themselves seem less satisfied with the customary illiteracy of their mothers and grandmothers, female education and co-education in the primary classes have, as we shall see in a moment, already attained somewhat impressive dimensions; schools and colleges for women are on the increase; women are being encouraged to take up physical training, games and vocational education; and, perhaps best of all, propaganda in this excellent cause is widespread. There is a steady increase in the number of girls schools and girl pupils. During 1925-26 the number of recognised institutions for girls rose by over eleven hundred to 27,110, whilst their strength increased largely during the same period to more than a million. But this number does not comprise all the girls under instruction for over six hundred thousand girls were reading in boys schools. Thus, the number of girls in recognised institutions is now approaching the neighbour-

hood of one and three-quarter millions. The vast majority of these girls, however, are reading in primary schools. In all India there were only one hundred and eighty-two women studying in medical colleges and one hundred and thirty-four in Training Colleges for teachers. There are seven Primary Education Acts in force in the Provinces, but of these only three—the Bombay, Madras, and Central Provinces Acts were applicable to girls at the end of March 1926. In Madras, elementary education for girls had by then been made compulsory in four divisions of the City of Madras and in two other Municipalities. In Bombay, education for girls is compulsory in two wards of the Bombay Corporation and in two other Municipalities, but in the Central Provinces the sections of the Act which refer to girls have not yet been applied. Compulsory education is another matter which deserves special mention. It had begun to come slowly into favour before the reforms and since their inception the need for it has been more generally recognised. The popular legislatures early declared themselves in favour of the principle, but the Municipalities and District Boards at first showed some hesitation in adopting it. They seemed loth to identify themselves either with any coercive measures or with the imposition of the additional taxation necessary to meet the cost of compulsion. But, happily, this attitude is gradually disappearing and to-day we find compulsory primary education spreading over an ever-increasing area. The latest figures available show that compulsion has been introduced in 114 Municipalities and 1,527 rural areas. The table given below shows the distribution of compulsory education by Provinces. The part taken by the Punjab in the movement is noteworthy, and this Province alone contains exactly half of the municipalities and all but 28 of the rural areas which have compulsory education.

Compulsion has been introduced in the following areas:—

Province.	Municipalities.	Rural Areas.
Madras	21	8
Bombay	7	...
Bengal	...	...
United Provinces	25	...
Punjab	57	1,499
Burma	...	...
Bihar and Orissa	1	4
Central Provinces	3	21
Assam	...	...
GRAND TOTAL	114	1,527

Progress is still hampered by the chronic poverty of the masses and their hereditary prejudice to educational innovations, but Ministers are displaying more and more courage, enthusiasm and initiative in this part of their work. They are closely studying the problems involved and taking such steps as seem best fitted to solve them. In particular they are gradually eliminating the old, inefficient, one-teacher village school and are endeavouring to provide the children of the agricultural classes with instruction more suitable to their circumstances. The grant in aid system, too, is receiving attention. Side by side with these improvements is going on a process of decentralisation of control. Municipalities and local boards are being entrusted with more and more powers and functions, and many of these bodies are exercising their increased responsibilities with care and wisdom. A particularly satisfactory feature of recent developments in education is the increasing attention now being devoted to the education of children belonging to the depressed classes. Owing to differences in the manner of classification in the provinces it is difficult to give accurate figures for the total number of pupils belonging to the depressed classes who are now under instruction. The majority of the provincial reports, however, now classify "untouchables" or outcast Hindus separately from Aborigines, Hill tribes, and other backward classes. Leaving aside Burma, where there are no untouchables, and Assam, where it is impossible to distinguish between the large numbers of Aborigines and Hill tribes and the untouchables, properly so called, the total number of depressed class pupils reading in all kinds of institutions in the remaining seven provinces was approximately 667,000. This figure bears the percentage of 2·3 to the total depressed class population of these provinces, as against the all-India figure for all communities of 4·0. The number of depressed class pupils has shown a satisfactory increase, but much leeway has still to be made up and in all provinces, except Bengal, the number of scholars reading at the secondary and University stages is depressingly small. In Madras 23 scholars were reading in Arts and Professional Colleges during 1925-26, in Bombay the number was 14; in the United Provinces 11; in the Central Provinces 8; in Bihar and Orissa one, and in the Punjab *nil*. One satisfactory feature of the reports from the provinces is the increase in the number of depressed class pupils reading in ordinary schools and in the number of caste pupils read-

ing in the special schools mainly intended for the depressed classes. In the Punjab as many as 15,899 pupils, out of a total of 19,049, were reading in ordinary schools and in Madras out of a total of 262,716 pupils reading in schools especially intended for the depressed classes nearly 70,000 were caste pupils.

The Government of Madras has continued to insist on all publicly managed schools being located in quarters accessible to the depressed classes and during the year 210 schools situated in inaccessible quarters were removed to accessible centres. In consequence of the policy adopted, 83 per cent. of the schools under the management of Municipalities and Taluk boards are now held in quarters accessible to the depressed classes.

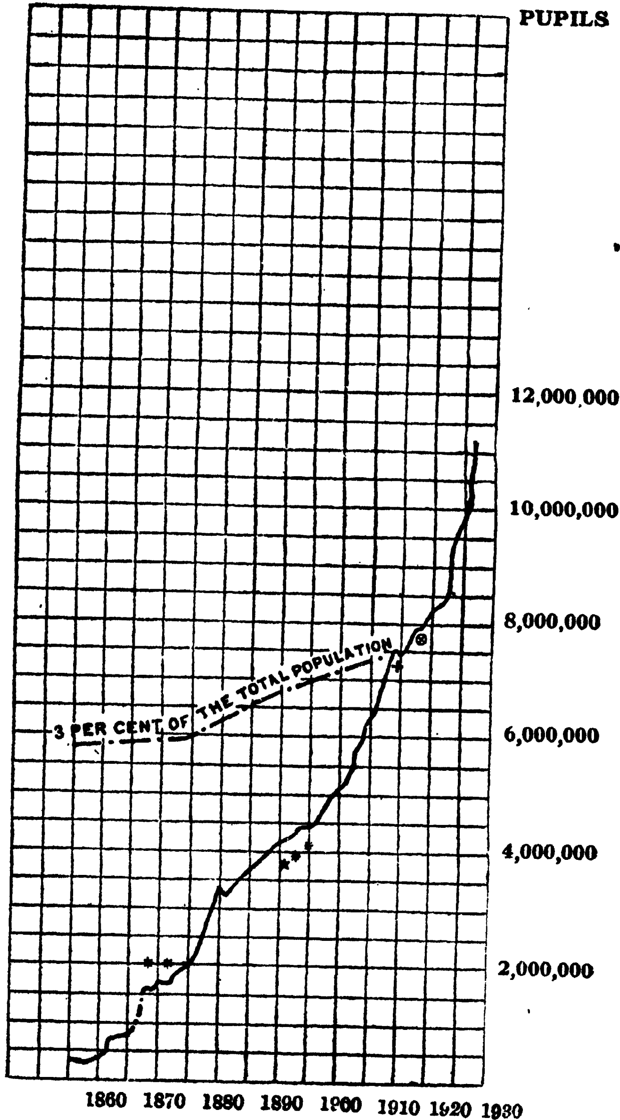
In Bombay there was an increase of nearly 6,000 depressed class pupils under instruction and the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, reports that "the prejudice against the depressed class children is lessening. In the Deccan there is little doubt that these communities are sharing in the general awakening of the backward classes. There are fewer signs of any such awakening in Gujerat." The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces also reports that caste prejudice is breaking down and states that "there is now no strong opposition to these boys reading in the ordinary board schools and the number of such boys is increasing. Still stronger evidence of the breaking down of caste prejudice is to be found in one Inspector's report that high caste boys were found to be reading in a number of schools for the depressed classes."

The higher branches of education share with the primary stages the progress which has taken place during recent years. There is a feeling abroad that however satisfactory may be the position of secondary and university education from the quantitative point of view, from the qualitative there is much to be desired. This is especially true of secondary education, which, generally speaking, is poor as compared with Western Standards and is in parts ill regulated. The methods of instruction are faulty; the staff takes little interest in its work and the ambition of the pupils is generally mercenary. Too slight attention has been given in the past to the moral, social, and physical sides of education the intellectual side has been everything. It is encouraging to observe, however, that serious attention is now being paid to physical training in the schools, and some provinces now have whole time

DIAGRAM.

Total number of pupils under instruction in India.

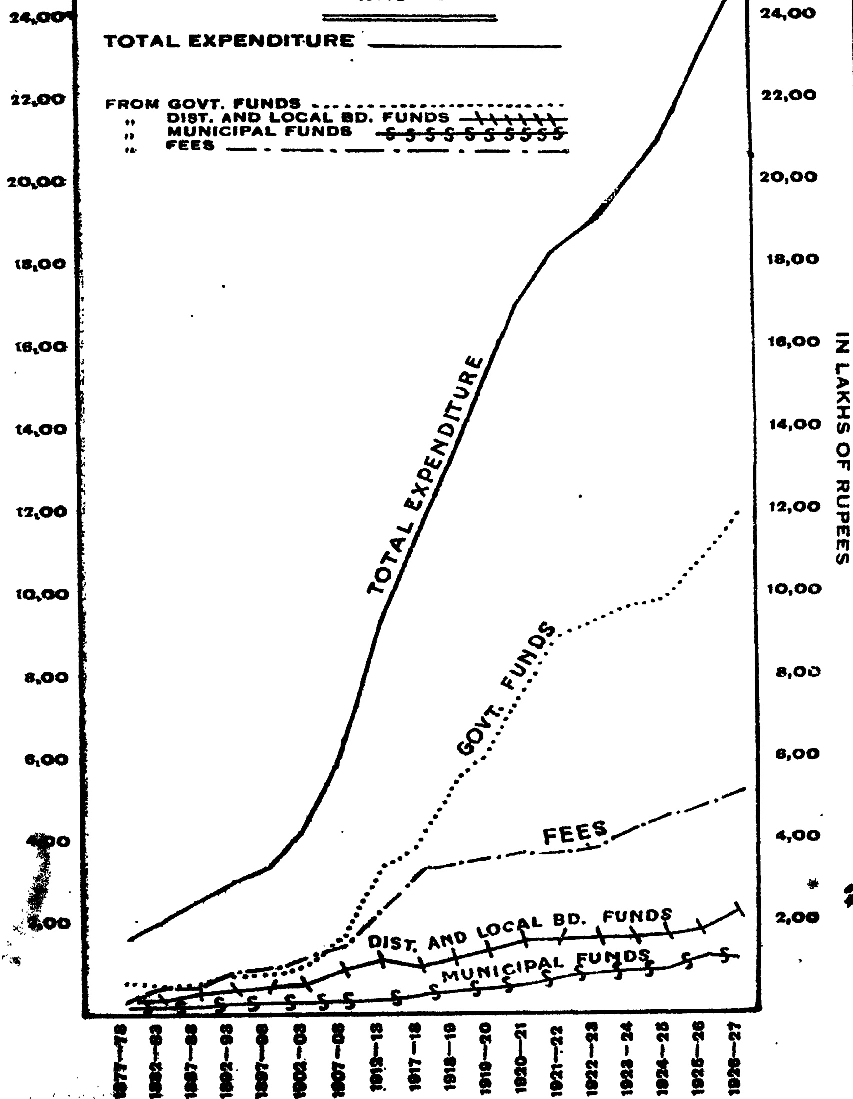
Famine.. *
Commencement of Plague.................. *
Influenza.. ⊗
Indian States omitted......................... +



Directors of physical education. Little improvement, though, is to be looked for as long as the demand for secondary education remains what it is, for efforts are likely to lead to nothing more than the mere multiplication of institutions of the present inefficient and ineffectual type. It seems to be recognised that the system of secondary education stands in need of some overhauling so as to bring it more into line with present-day requirements and aspirations. It is recognised, too, that since even at best only a small portion of India's vast population can hope to pass beyond the stage of secondary education, this education should be sound and complete in itself. Hence there is a growing desire and an increasing endeavour to reconstruct it so as to separate secondary and university education confining each to its proper sphere and making the former self-contained. Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education or Boards of Secondary Education have been constituted in certain provinces, and are doing valuable work, intermediate colleges have been established in some places, and vocational training is becoming steadily more popular. This is satisfactory since unemployment among the middle classes is due largely to the purely literary type of the education hitherto imparted. There is still great scope for the expansion of professional and technical education. In 1926 there were, in all India, only sixteen Engineering Colleges, and Schools with less than three thousand five hundred scholars. Unlike primary and secondary education, university education is not under the entire control of Provincial Governments. A few universities are directly under the Government of India, which continues to exercise certain powers in respect of these universities. Formerly, the great majority of Indian Universities were examining bodies, testing the attainments of the alumni of groups of individual and often scattered colleges, sometimes inadequately staffed and equipped, whose ambition usually outran their capacity. The old universities are one by one being remodelled so as to be both teaching and examining bodies and new ones are being set up. Further, a desire to relegate preliminary work to the intermediate colleges and to confine the universities to higher instruction is now evident in some parts of India. Colleges have been reorganised, new methods of administration adopted, and new courses of instruction introduced. Unfortunately, the establishment of new colleges seems to be leading to an undesirable competition for students, and,

consequently, a lowering of the standard of education. The inauguration of the central Inter-University Board might provide a safeguard against this danger and it is possible that the growing tendency to specialise in the teaching of particular subjects will in the end provide a way out. The attack on illiteracy has not been confined to the formal educational institutions. Recognising that education in the true sense, is a life-long process and that adult education is a necessity if the country is to have an electorate able to understand and properly to use the suffrage that has been conferred upon it, Ministers have been turning their attention to this important problem. The urban population presents no difficulty, for the towns offer much scope for the university extension movement. The case of the rural population, however, is different and to meet their wants various measures have been adopted. One of these is the organisation of lectures on matters connected with health and welfare; another is the night school movement; another, the device already mentioned of encouraging medical men to settle down in the villages; yet another is the establishment of village libraries and elementary literary societies. All these are yielding small but favourable results. It is difficult to give accurate details for the number and strength of schools for adults in the provinces since in many provinces no distinction is made in classification between schools which really provide for the education of illiterate adults and schools, especially night and part time schools, which are attended most largely by ordinary primary school children who are unable to attend day schools. In the following table the figures for Bombay, the Punjab, Burma and for the Central Provinces represent schools which educate adults only. The figures for the other provinces include schools which admit children as well as adults.

Province.	1926. Number of institutions.	Number of Pupils.
Madras	5,287	136,626
Bombay	191	7,730
Bengal	1,445	27,773
Punjab	3,208	85,422
Burma	19	1,065
Bihar and Orissa	1,036	22,701
Central Provinces	41	1,067
TOTAL	11,227	282,384


TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN EVERY FIFTH YEAR FROM 1877-78 TO 1917-18 AND ANNUALLY THEREAFTER; ALSO THE SOURCES IN THOSE YEARS FROM WHICH THAT EXPENDITURE WAS MET
TOTAL EXPENDITURE
FROM GOVT. FUNDS
" DIST. AND LOCAL BD. FUNDS
" MUNICIPAL FUNDS
" FEES
1877—78
1882—83
1887—88
1892—93
1897—98
1902—03
1907—08
1912—13
1917—18
1918—19
1919—20
1920—21
1921—22
1922—23
1923—24
1924—25
1925—26
1926—27
24,00
22,00
20,00
18,00
16,00
14,00
12,00
10,00
8,00
6,00
4,00
2,00
IN LAKHS OF RUPEES
TOTAL EXPENDITURE
GOVT. FUNDS
FEES
DIST. AND LOCAL BD. FUNDS
MUNICIPAL FUNDS

As will be seen from the above figures the Punjab is leading the way in the provision of schools for illiterate adults. And the activities of the Rural Community Board and the District Community Councils in the matter of providing village libraries, lantern slides, lecture notes and pamphlets have greatly stimulated the movement for mass education. By the end of the year under review vernacular libraries, open to adults, had been started in 1,531 vernacular middle schools in the Punjab.

In the Central Provinces the majority of the schools are managed by the Depressed Class Mission Society and by the Young Mens' Christian Association and in Bombay a number of schools are managed by the Central Co-operative Institute and by the Adult Educational Association.

There is one school for adult women in Rangoon and one for adult women in the Central Provinces.

Before turning to the progress of education in the provinces during the year 1926-27 we will notice a few features of general interest from the all-India Education Report for 1925-26, the year to which the latest number of this report relates. During 1925-26 there was an exceptionally large increase in the number of scholars under instruction throughout India. The number of recognised institutions increased by over 9,300 during that year, and the number of scholars by over 690,000. There was also a rise in the number of scholars reading in professional colleges. The percentage of males under instruction in recognised institutions to the total population was 6·5 as against 6·0 in 1924-25, and the percentage of females was 1·3 as against 1·2 in the previous year. The rise of 0·5 per cent. in the percentage for males was the largest increase recorded in any one year during the last ten years, and though this percentage is still far from satisfactory it compares very favourably with the figure for ten years ago which was only 4·7. Unfortunately the percentage for females is rising very slowly. It was 0·9 in 1916 and after ten years it has risen to only 1·3. The percentage of trained teachers employed in 1925-26 in recognised secondary and primary schools in British India to the total number employed was 45·6 in 1925-26, an increase of 1·3 per cent. over the previous year, and it is satisfactory to note that though there has been a large increase of late years in the total number of teachers, the percentage of trained teachers has slightly improved. The latest figures show that the number of men under training has

slowly decreased but the number of women under training has appreciably increased.



We may now turn to the progress of education in the Provinces during 1926-27, the latest year for which provincial reports are available.

In Madras the most important educational feature of the year was the progress made with the Government's policy of expanding elementary education. Sanction was accorded for the opening of 1,554 schools. These included 409 board elementary schools, opened in centres with a population of 500 and above which, before this time, had been without schools; 500 aided board elementary schools for girls who thus shared in the general progress, and 500 elementary schools under the management of village panchayats—the participation of the latter in this sphere representing a new and interesting development.

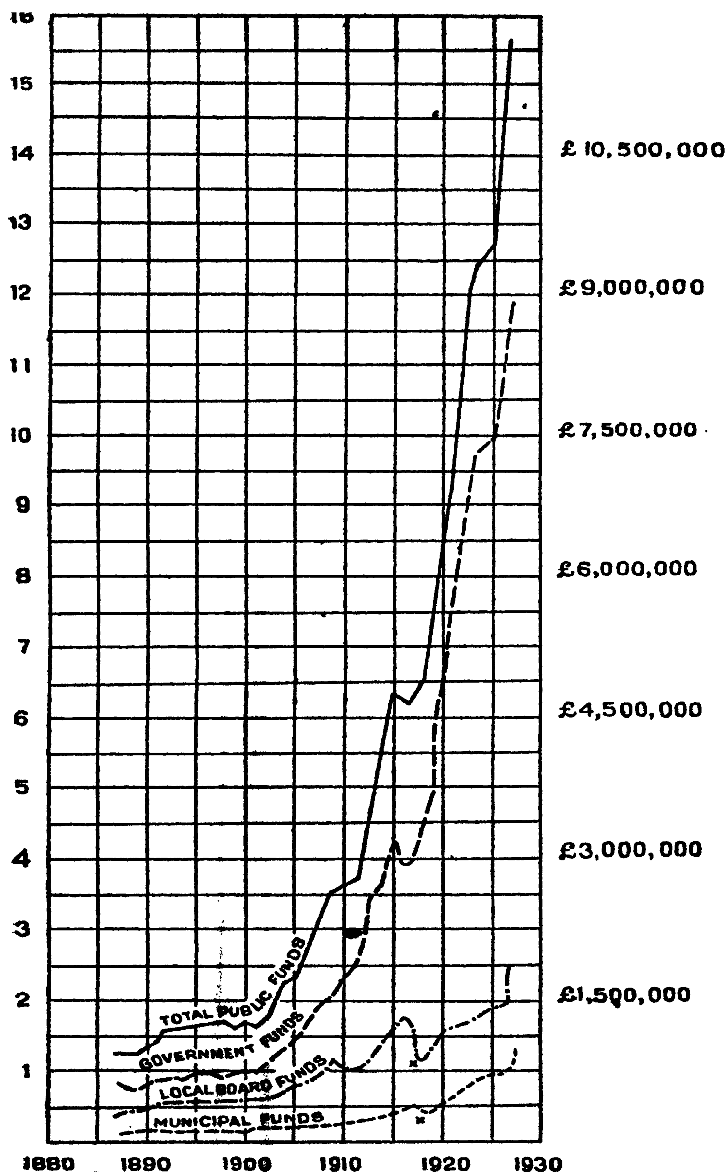
Increased facilities for the training of women teachers were afforded during the year by the opening of two secondary training classes and a higher elementary training school. The general question of female education was discussed at a conference of women officers of the Indian and Madras Educational Services whose recommendations were under consideration at the close of the year.

Measures were taken to make the Government Muhammadan College, Madras, a complete college unit, additional classes being opened in order to permit students to graduate from the college itself instead of completing the course at other colleges.

In Bombay continued progress in education was reported during the year, educational institutions and their pupils both increasing in numbers. The percentage of male scholars under instruction to the total male population was 9·12, the figure for females being 2·43, both higher than in the previous year. In the Presidency there are 26,731 towns and villages, of which 10,244 now possess schools, the average area served by each school being 12·1 square miles. The number of Secondary Schools also increased and so did the pupils, who now number over 100,000, of whom nearly 13,000 are girls. In Primary Schools the number of girls under instruction was 198,604, an increase of 16,518; the number of boys 851,483, an increase of 61,286. There are 15 Training Institutions in the Presidency for men and 18 for women, with 1,665 pupils, of

DIAGRAM.

Public Expenditure on Education.



× Fall due to reclassification of expenditure according to which Government contributions made to local bodies for education are included in expenditure from provincial funds.

whom 666 are women. The total number of Muhammadans under instruction increased by 14,276 to 187,919, of whom 26,562 were in girls' schools. There are nearly 451,000 Hindus receiving instruction in intermediate institutions and 121,555 members of the Backward Classes, including 61,600 of the Depressed Classes.

The total expenditure on Public Education rose during the year to over three hundred and eighty-one lakhs or more than twenty-eight and a half millions sterling. Of this sum, the Provincial Government provided 51·9 per cent.

In Bengal, the unsatisfactory condition of secondary education mentioned in last year's report continued without any fundamental change and unfortunately, the Provincial Government were unable to provide increased grants for this branch of education. Until new sources of revenue are available these schools must continue to look to the public for their support. The situation of primary education has changed little during the year the only new feature being the allotment of an additional two lakhs per annum to supplement the pay of trained teachers in primary schools. While the actual percentage of Muhammadans at the primary stage of education, namely 51·4, may at first sight appear satisfactory, progress is more apparent than real, as the great proportion of the children are concentrated in classes I and II and get no further. This figure may be contrasted with the percentages in high and middle schools, 15·5 and 19·3, respectively—figures which reveal the true position of the Muhammadan community. Owing partly to the apathy of parents, partly to the distribution of the population and its remoteness from high schools, and partly to the strong preference which still exists for indigenous institutions like maktabs and madrassahs, little progress has been made towards higher education and in the secondary and collegiate grades the community is far behind. The Calcutta Islamia College was established during the year under report and is reserved for Moslems for whom places have also been reserved in some of the Arts and Professional Colleges, and in Government and aided high schools. Some institutions are reserved entirely for Muhammadans, and scholarships, stipends, free-studentships are bestowed on them liberally.

The opening of a new high school at Krishnagar and the prospect of changing the Coronation Girls' School at Khulna into a high school are symptoms of the growing demand for the higher education of girls. Attention is being given in a larger measure

to health and hygiene and a course in hygiene, first aid and home nursing has been added to the syllabus. The most significant event of the year, however, was the first conference of the Bengal Women's Education League in February 1927, when women interested in education as teachers or organisers met and discussed the various problems of women's education in the province.

In the United Provinces, during 1926-27, education continued to make great strides. As compared with last year there are now nearly 760 more educational institutions, and the number of scholars has increased by about 50,000 to 1,350,000. Expenditure has arisen by Rs. 25¼ lakhs to Rs. 3,38 lakhs, nearly 58 per cent. of which was contributed by the Provincial Government. By the end of 1927, 30 municipalities had adopted compulsory primary education, and schemes in respect of seven others have been sanctioned. Similar schemes are contemplated by a number of district boards, and 22 of these have been examined. Proposals made by 23 municipal boards for opening a total of 60 night schools were under consideration at the end of 1926-27. The tendency to unify the various types of secondary schools continues to develop whilst the number of secondary schools rose during the year to 889. The number of high and middle schools rose slightly to 236, but the number of primary schools rose by about 600. The number of institutions for female education has increased by nearly 50, and 81,300 girls are now receiving education in the United Provinces, of whom over 4,700 are reading in high and middle schools and over 54,000 in primary schools. The Crosthwaite Girls' College, Allahabad, and the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, continued to impart both degree and intermediate education, while the Theosophical National College, Benares, gives instruction only of the latter class. Missionary schools still form a majority of the establishments which enter for the education of girls. Complaints against the paucity of women teachers continue, and men still teach in several institutions for female education.

In Bihar and Orissa the most important event of the year was the opening of the new Science College at Patna. In pursuance of the policy of introducing vocational training into ordinary schools, five more classes in science and two more classes in manual training were started in Government high schools during 1927. In eight middle schools industrial classes were opened in such subjects as weaving, tailoring and carpentry. Four more district

boards availed themselves of the option of assuming the control of middle English schools. The numerical progress made in the sphere of primary education during the last five years has been remarkable, the increase in the total number of pupils being no less than 37 per cent. during this period. During the last year of this quinquennium progress was less rapid owing chiefly to a fall in the number of unaided schools. Improvement in the quality of primary education is now more necessary than expansion, and it is particularly important that the system of training teachers for elementary schools should be placed on a sounder basis. This question has been receiving the serious consideration of the Provincial Government, and a scheme has been drawn up at an estimated cost of Rs. 6·84 lakhs recurring, which, if introduced, will result in an adequate output of properly qualified teachers who have received a two years' course of training, although it will at the same time bring about a reduction in the number of elementary training schools from 116 to 64.

In the sphere of women's education the most important development was the creation of a special scale of pay within the Vernacular Teacher's Service for trained women matriculates. The rules for the grant of vernacular certificates to women teachers were also revised during this period.

An important event was the constitution in April of a permanent board to advise on the selection of candidates for first appointment to the provincial educational services. Another interesting measure was the experimental appointment, for a period of two years, of a special staff of inspecting officers to supervise the education of the untouchable castes.

In the Central Provinces the year has been one of consolidation and steady progress. The number of institutions has increased to 5,422 and the number of pupils under instruction from 377,983 to 399,289 during the past year. Of these 391,623 were reading in recognised schools. The total expenditure on public instruction amounted to Rs. 113·64 lakhs in 1926-27. Important building operations have been carried out, foremost among these being the construction of new buildings for the Victoria College of Science and the completion of a hostel for the College, additional bungalows for King Edward College, Amraoti, and the improvement of vernacular schools buildings, especially in Berar. In the colleges the number of students has increased from 1,383 to 1,410

and the Morris College, Nagpur, has now reached the limit of its present accommodation. The education of girls has received growing attention and a committee to enquire into the state of female education and make recommendations for its expansion and improvement was appointed by the Government of the Central Provinces in November 1926. Compulsory education is slowly but steadily gaining ground and spread during the year 1926-27 to 42 villages in the Bhandara and to 3 villages in the Raipur district. Before the end of the calendar year 1927 several other schemes for urban and rural areas came into operation.

In Burma expenditure on education rose still further during 1926-27, and came within measurable distance of two crores of rupees. Nearly half the total fell directly upon Provincial funds, while much of the expenditure nominally contributed by local bodies was indirectly drawn from Provincial revenues. There was a rise in the number of pupils in all stages of instruction. The increase was highest in the lower primary stage, in response to the deeision to open 250 new elementary schools every year over a period of five years, but the number in the collegiate stage showed a greater proportional increase. Unfortunately economic reasons drive the great majority of parents to remove their children from school as soon as they are old enough to tend cattle or to look after their younger brothers and sisters and, in consequence, the numbers that persist to the upper primary and secondary stages are small indeed. The number of girls under instruction continued to rise rapidly, but it was estimated that only about 20 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were at school, and the great majority of these will be removed at a very early age. One of the most interesting schemes under consideration during the year was the replacement of the Anglo-vernacular normal schools by a central teachers' training college, which would work in conjunction with the University. The proposals, however, had not matured by the end of the year.

For the University one of the most important events of the year was the collection of funds throughout the province for an endowment intended to make the University less dependent on Government aid. Many generous donations were made, and at the end of the year the fund promised to reach very satisfactory figures. The fact that Arts and Law do not have things all their own way, and that Science, Engineering and Medical courses attract more

students than they used to do shows that the University is adjusting itself better to the needs of the province. The foundation stone of the new Medical College was laid in February, and the building was expected to be ready for use in 1929.

In Assam the year 1926-27 saw an increase in the expenditure on public instruction and in the number of all classes of educational institutions. A Primary Education Act to allow of the gradual introduction of free and compulsory education was passed during the year, and a special officer has been appointed to frame rules under it.



In a earlier chapter, we dealt at some length with the operations of the Central Agricultural Department, and it is not necessary here to go into the details of the work of the provincial departments. The main task of research falls on the central organisation, but the local departments do an immense amount of good work in distributing improved seeds and implements, demonstrating methods of cultivation, and so on.

It is with the Co-operative Society movement that we come to what is unquestionably one of the most promising and important of the efforts now being made to improve the conditions of life in India. Its activities are not confined merely to the agricultural population, although, of course, it is among them that it finds its greatest scope and widest field of work. It is now about 23 years since the Co-operative Societies movement was started in India and its record has been one of uninterrupted progress, the total number of Co-operative Societies having risen to well over 70,000. Moreover, the growth has, on the whole been a sound and healthy one, and if the most important of all the statistics which are prepared in connection with the Co-operative Societies are studied—the figures which show the overdue recoveries outstanding by the Societies—will be seen that the Co-operative movement in this country is in a good state of health.

It is obvious that in a land of the size of India, the Co-operative movement does not function under homogeneous conditions in every part. If the reader glances at the map of India, he will see on the east and in the centre an immense block of territory represented by Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces

and the United Provinces where, broadly speaking, the agriculturist is a tenant holding his land by one form of tenure or other from a landlord. This means that he can offer only personal security for any obligation contracted by him. To the north, west, and south of this block are the ryotwari provinces where the agriculturist as a rule has mortgageable rights in his land and therefore can offer real, instead of personal, security. Thus the Co-operative movement in the former group of provinces is faced with certain difficulties which do not appear in the latter group, and this general consideration should be borne in mind by all who study the work of the Co-operative Societies in India.

Through these societies a good deal of quiet constructive work has been carried on. Their membership and capital grow steadily, and one of their primary objects is the encouragement of thrift by collecting small shares, receiving deposits and attempting to induce members to make compulsory contributions for special purposes. In no province in India does the work of the Co-operative Societies and with the supply of credit or with the removal of indebtedness.

Agricultural non-credit societies are extending their operations every year. They undertake the joint sale of agricultural produce, the production and sale of implements and manures, the furtherance of irrigation projects, and the consolidation of holdings. They open dispensaries and schools; they assist the Agricultural Departments in spreading knowledge of improved methods of cultivation and they maintain communications and build new roads.

A striking feature of the working of the co-operative movement in Madras during the year is the large expansion which has taken place, as many as 1,455 new societies having been registered. At the end of the co-operative year, June 30th, 1927, there were over 13,000 societies at work in the Province. The Central Urban Bank and the district central banks enjoyed a successful year, while the divisible profits of the primary societies, both agricultural and non-agricultural, were also appreciable in most instances. The trading activities of non-credit societies, however, were not so brisk as in the previous year, although loans advanced on the security of standing crops and agricultural produce were considerable. Labour contract societies, the number of which increased during the year, are gradually establishing themselves. Those in the Tanjore district were able to secure the contracts for the execu-

tion of large piece works in connection with the Cauvery-Mettur irrigation project. The organisation of irrigation societies in dry areas for the erection of power pumps for lifting water received particular attention during the year and budget provision for the grant of loans to them has now been made. Of the ten land mortgage banks—a comparatively new and experimental feature of the movement—whose chief object is to enable cultivators to clear off old debts on their lands, two are now in working order.

Notwithstanding the very low prices of cotton and certain other kinds of agricultural produce which prevailed during the year, and the damage done to the crops in some areas by rain and locusts, the general progress of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay was steadily maintained during the year. The number of agricultural credit societies increased as also did their working capital. This progress was all the more satisfactory because it was not artificially fostered. It was spontaneous, and, was accomplished in the face of the discouragement given by the Co-operative Department to the formation of new societies which held out no promise of ultimate success. But a disquieting feature of the year was the large increase in the unauthorised arrears which rose from 36 lakhs to 82 lakhs, or 29 per cent. of the outstandings. The Provincial Co-operative Bank continued to make progress and opened three branches, of which there are now 16.

The Co-operative movement in Bengal had a fair year during 1926-27, but economic conditions were not really satisfactory. There was a general shortage of money in the districts, the demand from societies was very keen, and for the first time the Provincial Bank found it difficult to comply with the applications for loans sent in from different centres. The introduction of long-term and short-term loans mentioned has greatly improved the facilities for obtaining credit from the Imperial Bank, not only of the Provincial Co-operative Bank but of the local Central Banks and selected Urban Banks. This arrangement has, in fact, considerably increased the resources as a whole of the co-operative movement and will assist in keeping a major portion of the assets of societies in a fluid state. A scheme of Land Mortgage Banks is now under the consideration of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and has been referred to the Central Banks for an expression of their opinion. The co-operative movement generally seems to be steadily taking a deeper hold on the province, and the extension of its

activities in the marketing and sale of produce is a gratifying feature. On the non-credit side the progress of the movement is satisfactory. There are now 78 sale societies. The most important of those started during the year are at Narayanganj, Akhoura, Chowmohani and Nakalia (Shahzadpur) most of them having as their main objective the co-operative sale of jute. On the whole the experience gained during the year is satisfactory, although the financial results have not been particularly bright. The most notable event in connection with these non-credit societies is the establishment of the Bengal Wholesale Society, Limited, with which various sale societies have now affiliated themselves. This has to a large extent solved some of the difficult problems which confronted the sale societies last year. Owing to an unprecedented demand from all sides, more attention was paid to the promotion of industrial co-operation than was possible in previous years. The success of the Calcutta Milk Union and its affiliated societies has created a demand for the establishment of similar unions and societies in every big district. Co-operative irrigation societies are a special feature in the districts of Bankura and Birbhum, and towards the end of the year a demand arose for the formation of such societies in the districts of Malda, Burdwan and Midnapore.

The visit of the Royal Commission on Agriculture to Bengal created considerable interest in agricultural and co-operative matters. At the time of their visit there, the Dacca and some other Central Banks with the assistance of the Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society organised a Divisional Conference to which Lord Linlithgow and some of the members of the Commission paid a visit. An interesting and perhaps somewhat curious development of the movement appears in the continuous growth of societies with public or social aims as their main object.

The year 1926-27 was a successful one for the Co-operative movement in the United Provinces. The special feature of the period, however, was not so much the advance of the movement as its general reorganization in matters of detail with a view to achieving a more healthy development than has been possible in previous years. During the year ending June 30, 1927, the number of central societies was practically the same as in the previous year, *i.e.*, 70, though their working capital increased by nearly two lakhs of rupees and their share capital by a lakh. There has been an increase both in the number and in the membership

of non-agricultural societies, whose capital rose during the year by nearly Rs. 2½ lakhs. With the weeding out of useless societies in the United Provinces the development of the movement is more assured. No less than twelve new schools for adults have been started and are in full working order. In a quiet way several credit societies have made improvements in farming. An interesting development is that in one case tenants have adopted the practice of paying their rents to the landlord through their society, instead of paying directly to his representatives.

In Bihar and Orissa, the progress of the Co-operative movement was slower this year than usual. Provisional figures for the year 1927 indicate that 510 new societies of various kinds were registered during the twelve months, comprising 501 primary societies, 7 guarantee unions and 2 central banks—while 64 societies were liquidated during the same period. In the past, too much importance has been attached to the numerical expansion of the movement and too little to the well-being of the existing societies. There is reason to fear that the movement is not developing on altogether sound lines, and it has been thought better to concentrate attention on consolidating the ground already won rather than strive after further expansion. Village societies continued to form a common meeting-place for all agencies of progress, and particularly valuable work was done, in co-operation with the Agricultural Department, in demonstrating the value of new and untried seeds and manures. The floods in Orissa provided an opportunity to the movement to show its practical utility. The provincial bank made a donation of Rs. 1,000 to charitable relief funds, while special loans were issued to the affected societies at a low rate of interest. Most of the central banks have now taken up seriously the task of giving proper training to the *panches* of primary societies and the secretaries of guarantee unions.

Consolidation rather than expansion was the feature of the year under review in the Central Provinces. Some societies were cancelled, and about half their number of new societies were registered. The policy of recognization of promising societies continues, and during the year 548 societies were recognized in the Central Provinces and 70 in Berar. Progress was also made in regard to the formation or conversion of societies on a share basis, and the number of such societies now stands at 323 against 116 in the previous year. The number of societies enjoying the benefit of the reserve

fund scheme has increasd. This scheme has the effect of stimulating punctuality in repayment, reducing arrears and enlisting new members. There was some improvement in the condition of primary societies, but recoveries of principal have declined mainly owing to the unfavourable agricultural conditions of this year, and in Berar particularly, to the poor harvests during the last three years and the continuous fall in the price of cotton.

During 1926-27 the extension of the co-operative movement in Assam continued to be steady with but few set-backs. The number of societies of all kinds increased as also did the number of those affiliated to central banks. Among developments of the movement in this province, which merit special attention, are the Kamrup Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank and the organisation of a Jute Sale Society in the Nowgong district. The Agricultural Department made greater use of co-operative societies for the distribution of seeds and implements than in the previous year and the Surma Valley Co-operative Organisation Society continued to do useful propaganda work. Important recommendations relating to the development of Co-operative Societies are now under the consideration of the Provincial Government.



The importance of the part played by cottage industries in rural economics in India as elsewhere need not be demonstrated here, for it is sufficiently obvious. Here in India it is possible to apply some of the lessons which have been learnt in Western countries as the result of often bitter experience, and no provincial Government is blind to its responsibilities in the matter of the introduction or development of rural industries. Departments for the development of industries are in existence in Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, and amongst their functions is that of the supervision and, where possible, the assisting of rural industries. An Industrial Loans Act has been passed in the Punjab, whilst Madras and Bihar and Orissa have passed State Aid to Industries Acts. Under these Acts assistance can be given from provincial revenues subject to certain conditions for private enterprise for starting new industries. Wherever there is an Industries Department, the development of rural industries benefits to a certain extent and much good work has been done during the past few years in this direction.

In Madras the survey of cottage industries, undertaken with a view to their revival and establishment on an economic basis as subsidiary occupations for agriculturists in the non-agricultural season, was completed in four districts of the Presidency during the year. Five peripatetic weaving parties continued to demonstrate the Department's hand-driven sizing machine and to distribute warp, prepared in most cases from yarns supplied by the weavers themselves. Some of the most important work done by the department is in the sphere of industrial education. The Madras Trades School is growing in popularity and applicants for admission were again numerous and of a good standard of general education. Many applicants for admission to the preparatory classes which are a new feature of the School, had to be refused admission for lack of accommodation. Industrial schools recognized by the Government increased in number to 61, all of which except six are aided by grants from public funds.

With its headquarters staff at full strength, and after the opening of the research laboratory in Calcutta the Bengal Industries Department is fully equipped to carry out the policy outlined by the Industrial Commission. It is to be feared, however, that the great change in industrial conditions since the date of the Commission's report has renderd the achievement of success on the lines anticipated by the Commission much more difficult than was at first thought. On the research side the Industrial Chemist has undertaken a number of investigations relating to the better utilisation of raw materials available in Bengal. His improved process for the purification of shellac was demonstrated in Malda, and he has concluded certain experiments on match head compositions. The Bengal Tanning Institute has been established on a permanent basis and research has been continued into many difficult and interesting problems connected with local leather and its tanning. On the educational side instruction is given to a number of apprentices, who are put through a regular course. The value of the export trade in hides and skins through Calcutta is immense, and there is no reason why local tanners should not have a bigger share in the industrial side of the business. An interesting development is the establishment of classes for women, some of whom on the completion of their training, will be employed in the formation of female peripatetic demonstration parties for the training of *purdanashin* women at their own homes. The Silk weaving and

dyeing Institute at Berhampore has recently been opened, and it is gratifying to know that a large number of candidates for admission have come forward. The needs of the Province as regards technical education and instruction in weaving are well-known, and the Bengal Government have granted a fixed increase of Rs. 30,000 per annum for three years to the grant-in-aid allotment for these objects.

In the United Provinces the Government have made strenuous efforts to encourage research and broadcast the results obtained. They have done pioneer work in establishing new factories; they have instituted technical surveys, and given scholarships to students for studying modern methods of production abroad at the centres of industrial progress; they have started technical schools, and they have given loans and grants to nascent industries. Over a hundred demonstrations of various kinds were given during the year at fairs and exhibitions for the benefit chiefly of the rural population.

The Department of Industries in Bihar and Orissa was created as recently as 1920 to supervise the provision of technical and industrial education and to stimulate the industrial development of the province. More than three quarters of the expenditure of this department is still devoted to educational work. The Bihar College of Engineering completed the third year of its existence in July. A mechanical apprentice class was introduced during the year in the Ranchi Industrial School, the status of which has thus been raised to that of a technical institute. A new committee of management has been constituted, and applications for admission into all the classes were again very satisfactory. The Tirhut Technical Institute, which was started in July 1925, had already become popular and appears to be doing useful work. The district board of Purnea has decided to open two industrial schools, to which carpentry, smithy and weaving classes will be attached. Various schemes for the development of different industries are being considered by the Government of the Province, these including the establishment of a cottage industries institute at Cuttack, and the installation of two power looms in the existing institute at Gulzarbagh.

The Central Provinces Industries Department continued its educative propaganda in the sphere of cottage industries. In the sphere of home industries, the campaign to introduce improved

sleys among weavers was extended outside urban areas, in spite of the depression in the cotton trade, and 1,028 fly-shuttle sleys were sold as compared with 347 in the previous year. The rise in the price of yarn and the fall in the price of mill-made cloth has intensified the difficulties of weavers in marketing their goods at a profit, and the teaching of the use of the improved sleys to this class of artizan is, therefore, important. Further experiments in the demonstration of modern methods of demonstration of knitting and webbing manufacture by means of modern appliances is contemplated. An increasing demand is being made for industrial education, and the opening of two new aided schools is projected in addition to those already existing. The Leather Tanning School opened late in 1925 has now successfully turned out six trained apprentices.

The activities of the Assam Industries Department continued, as in past years, to be mainly confined to the encouragement of handloom weaving and sericulture and to the control of technical and industrial education. There was, however, expansion along certain lines during the course of the year. It has been decided, for example, to form a fourth peripatetic weaving party and to open sections in the Gauhati Weaving Institute and the Surma Valley Technical School for the special instruction of females. The industrial schools well maintain their standard of training and their students are finding employment.

Compressed as is the foregoing account of some of the most important and fruitful of the manifold activities of the Indian Provincial Governments, it nevertheless shows something of the scope and variety of the attempts which are being made to improve the conditions of living, the civic capacity and the economic conditions of the masses of this country, and if progress seems often to observers to be disappointingly slight and slow, the level from which the progress started must be remembered.

APPENDIX I (a).

THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION.

GEORGE R.I.

GEORGE THE FIFTH, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, to

Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Counsellor Sir John Allsebrook Simon, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Officer of Our Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

Our right Trusty and Well-Beloved Cousin Harry Lawson Webster, Viscount Burnham, Knight Grand Cross of our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour, upon whom We have conferred the Territorial Decoration;

Our right Trusty and Well-Beloved Donald Sterling Palmer, Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal.

Our Trusty and Well-Beloved Edward Cecil George Cadogan, Esquire (commonly called the Honourable Edward Cecil George Cadogan), Companion of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath;

Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Counsellor Stephen Walsh;*

Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Counsellor George Richard Lane-Fox, Honorary Colonel, the Yorkshire Hussars Yeomanry, upon whom We have conferred the Territorial Decoration;

Our Trusty and Well-Beloved Clement Richard Attlee, Esquire, Major, late South Lancashire Regiment;

Greeting!

Whereas We have deemed it expedient that the Commission for which provision is made in Section 84A of the Government of India Act should forthwith be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and should report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislature is or is not desirable:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge and ability, have on the advice of Our Secretary of State for India acting with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament authorised and appointed, and do by these Presents authorise and appoint you, the said Sir John Allsebrook Simon (Chairman); Harry Lawson Webster, Viscount Burnham; Donald Sterling Palmer, Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal; Edward Cecil George Cadogan; Stephen Walsh; George Richard Lane

* NOTE.—The Right Hon'ble Stephen Walsh having resigned for reasons of ill-health the Right Hon'ble Vernon Hartshorn was appointed in his place under a Warrant, dated the 7th December 1927.

Fox and Clement Richard Attlee to be Our Commissioners for the purposes aforesaid.

And for the better effecting the purposes of this Our Commission, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any three or more of you, full power at any place in Our United Kingdom or in India or elsewhere in Our Dominions to call before you such persons as you shall judge likely to afford you any information upon the subject of this Our Commission: and also whether in Our said Kingdom, or in India, or elsewhere in our Dominions to call for information in writing; to call for, have access to and examine all such books, documents, registers and records as may afford you the fullest information on the subject, and to inquire of and concerning the premises by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever, including the appointment by the Commission with the sanction of Our Secretary of State for India, of any person or persons to make subordinate enquiries and to report the result to the Commission:

And We do by these Presents authorise and empower you or any of you to visit and inspect personally such places as you may deem it expedient so to inspect for the more effectual carrying out of the purposes aforesaid:

And We do by these Presents will and ordain that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjourment:

And We do further ordain that you, or any three or more of you, have liberty to report your proceedings under this Our Commission from time to time if you shall judge it expedient so to do:

And Our further will and pleasure is that you do, with as little delay as possible, report to Us under your hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of any three or more of you, your opinion upon the matters herein submitted for your consideration.

Given at Our Court at *Saint James's* the *Twenty-sixth* day of *November,* One thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven; in the Eighteenth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

W. Joynson-Hicks.

APPENDIX I (*b*).

STATEMENT BY H. E. THE VICEROY.

Eight years ago the British Parliament enacted a Statute which regulated the conditions under which India might learn by actual experience whether or not the Western system of representative government was the most appropriate means through which she might attain responsible self-government within the Empire. That statute never professed to incorporate irrevocable decisions, and recognised that its work must of necessity be reviewed in the light of fuller knowledge with the lapse of years. Parliament accordingly enacted that at the end of ten years, at latest, a Statutory Commission should be appointed to examine and report upon the progress made.

Considerable pressure has during recent years been exercised to secure anticipation of the statute, but His Majesty's Government has hitherto felt that circumstances in India were not such as to justify, in the interests of India itself, advancement of the date at which the future development of the constitution would be considered. So, long as the unwise counsels of political non-co-operation prevailed, it was evident that the conditions requisite for calm appraisement of a complicated constitutional problem were lacking, and that an earlier enquiry would have been likely only to crystallise in opposition two points of view, between which it must be the aim and the duty of statesmanship to effect reconcilliation. But there have been signs latterly that while those who have been foremost in advancing the claims of India to full self-government have in no way abandoned principles they have felt it their duty to assert, yet there is in many quarters a greater disposition to deal with the actual facts of the situation and to appreciate what I believe to be most indubitably true, namely, that the differences which exist on these matters are differences of method or pace, and not differences of principle or disagreements as to the goal which we all alike desire to reach.

It is also certain that the review, if it is to be thorough, and deal adequately with the issues that will claim attention, will have much ground to cover, and, both for this stage and for those that will necessarily follow, it is important to ensure a sufficient allowance of time, without unduly postponing the date by which final action could be undertaken.

There is another element in the present position, which is immediately relevant to the question of when the work of the Commission should begin. We are all aware of the great, the unhappily great, part played in the life of India recently by communal tension and antagonism, and of the obstacle thus imposed to Indian political development. It might be argued that in such circumstances it was desirable to delay the institution of the Commission as long as possible, in the hope that this trouble might in the meantime abate. On the other hand it seems not impossible, that the uncertainty of what constitutional changes might be imminent may have served to sharpen this antagonism, and that each side may have been, consciously or unconsciously, actuated by the desire to strengthen, as they supposed, their relative position in anticipation of the Statutory Commission. Wherever

such activities may first begin, the result is to create a vicious circle, in which all communities are likely to feel themselves constrained to extend their measures of self-defence.

The fact that these fierce antagonisms are irreconcilable with the whole idea of Indian nationalism has not been powerful enough to exercise its influence over great numbers of people in all classes, and I suspect that the communal issue is so closely interwoven in the political, that suspense and uncertainty in regard to the political react rapidly and unfavourably upon the communal situation. Fear is frequently the parent of bad temper, and when men are afraid, as they are to-day, of the effect unknown political changes may have, they are abnormally ready to seek relief from, and an outlet for, their fears in violent and hasty action. In so far as these troubles are the product of suspense, one may hope for some relief through action taken to limit the period of uncertainty.

Having regard to such considerations as these, His Majesty's Government has decided to invite Parliament to advance the date of the enquiry and to assent forthwith to the establishment of the Commission. Subject to the obtaining of this necessary authority, His Majesty's Government hopes that the Commission will proceed to India as early as possible in the New Year for a short visit, returning to India in October for the performance of their main task.

The task of the Commission will be no easy one. In the governing words of the Statute, which will constitute its terms of reference, it will be charged with "inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable".

His Majesty's Government have naturally given careful thought to the most appropriate agency for the conduct of an enquiry so comprehensive and unrestricted.

The question of what should be the composition of the Commission is one to which the answer must inevitably be greatly influenced by the nature of the task which Parliament has to perform in the light of its advice. In order that the decision at which His Majesty's Government have arrived may be fully understood, it is necessary to state in a few words what they conceive that task to be. If it were simply the drawing up of a constitution which Parliament, which must in any circumstances be the final arbiter, would impose on India from without, the problem would be comparatively simple. But that is not how His Majesty's Government conceive it. The preamble to the Act of 1919 recognised in effect that, with the development of Indian political thought during the last generation, legitimate aspirations towards responsible government had been formed of which account must be taken. His Majesty's present Government desire no less to take account of those aspirations, and their hope is to lay before Parliament—after the

investigation into facts prescribed by the Act—conclusions which shall so far as is practicable have been reached by agreement with all the parties concerned. It is with this object steadily in view that His Majesty's Government have considered both the composition of the Commission and the procedure to be followed in dealing with its report.

It would be generally agreed that what is required is a Commission which would be unbiassed and competent to present an accurate picture of facts to Parliament; but it must also be a body on whose recommendations Parliament should be found willing to take whatever action a study of these facts may indicate to be appropriate.

To fulfil the first requirement it would follow that the Commission should be such as may approach its task with sympathy and a real desire to assist India to the utmost of its power, but with minds free from preconceived conclusions on either side. It is, however, open to doubt whether a Commission constituted so as to include a substantial proportion of Indian members, and, as it rightly would, British official members also, would satisfy the first condition of reaching conclusions unaffected by any process of *a priori* reasoning. On the one hand it might be felt that the desires, natural and legitimate, of the Indian members to see India a self-governing nation could hardly fail to colour their judgment of her present capacity to sustain the rôle. On the other hand, there are those who might hold that British official members would be less than human if their judgment were not in some degree affected by long and close contact with the questions to which they would now be invited to apply impartial minds.

But even after such a Commission had written its report, Parliament would inevitably approach consideration of it with some element of mental reservation due to an instinctive feeling that the advice in more than one case represented views to which the holder was previously committed. It would move uncertainly among conclusions, the exact value of which, owing to unfamiliarity with the minds of their framers, it would feel unable to appraise.

We should, however, be making a great mistake if we supposed that these matters were purely constitutional, or could be treated merely as the subject of judicial investigation. Indian opinion has a clear title to ask that in the elaboration of a new instrument of government, their solution of the problem, or their judgment on other solutions which may be proposed, should be made an integral factor in the examination of the question and be given due weight in the ultimate decision. It is therefore essential to find means by which Indians may be made parties to the deliberations so nearly affecting the future of their country.

Balancing these various considerations, and endeavouring to give due weight to each, His Majesty's Government have decided upon the following procedure:—

They propose to recommend to His Majesty that the Statutory Commission should be composed as follows:—

Chairman—The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, M.P.; Members—The Viscount Burnham, The Lord Strathcona, The Hon. E. Cadogan, M.P.; The Right Hon. Stephen Walsh, M.P., Colonel The Right Hon. George Lane-Fox, M.P., and Major C. R. Attlee, M.P.

His Majesty's Government cannot of course dictate to the Commission what procedure it shall follow, but they are of opinion that its task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Central Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee, chosen from its elected and nominated unofficial members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. This Committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the enquiry. It should be clearly understood that the purpose of this suggestion is not to limit the discretion of the Commission in hearing other witnesses.

His Majesty's Government suggest that a similar procedure should be adopted with the Provincial Legislatures.

The vast area to be covered may make it desirable that the task of taking evidence on the more purely administrative questions involved should be undertaken by some other authority, which would be in the closest touch with the Commission. His Majesty's Government suggest that the Com mission on arrival in India should consider and decide by what machinery this work may most appropriately be discharged. This will not of course debar the Commission from the advantage of taking evidence itself upon these subjects to whatever extent it may think desirable.

When the Commission has reported and its report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parliament. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt these proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them.

And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals for consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses, and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the view of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee, and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government the procedure contemplated fulfils to a very great extent the requisites outlined above.

Such a Commission, drawn from men of every British political party, and presided over by one whose public position is due to outstanding ability and character, will evidently bring fresh, trained, and unaffected judgment to bear upon an immensely complex constitutional issue.

Moreover, the findings of some of its own members can count in advance upon a favourable reception at the hands of Parliament, which will recognise them to speak from a common platform of thought, and to be applying standards of judgment which Parliament will feel instinctively to be its own. For myself I cannot doubt that the quickest and surest path of those who desire Indian progress is by the persuasion of Parliament, and that they can do this more certainly through members of both Houses of Parliament than in any other way. The Indian nationalist has gained much if he can convince Members of Parliament on the spot, and I would therefore go

further and say that if those who speak for India have confidence in the case which they advance on her behalf, they ought to welcome such an opportunity being afforded to as many members of the British Legislature as may be thus to come into contact with the realities of Indian life and politics.

Furthermore, while it is for these reasons of undoubted advantage to all who desire an extension of the Reforms that their case should be heard in the first instance by those who can command the unquestioned confidence of Parliament, I am sanguine enough to suppose that the method chosen by His Majesty's Government will also assure to Indians a better opportunity than they could have enjoyed in any other way of influencing the passage of these great events. For not only will they, through representatives of the Indian Legislatures, be enabled to express themselves freely to the Commission itself, but it will also be within their power to challenge in detail or principle any of the proposals made by His Majesty's Government before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, and to advocate their own solutions. It should be observed moreover that at this stage Parliament will not have been asked to express any opinion on particular proposals and therefore, so far as Parliament is concerned, the whole field will still be open.

I hope that there will be none, whatever may be their political opinions, who will fail to take advantage of this potent means thus presented to them of establishing direct contact between the Indian and British peoples. There will be some whose inclination, it may be, will prompt them to condemn the scheme of procedure on which His Majesty's Government has decided. Others may criticise this or that part of the proposals. The reply to these last is that the plan outlined stands as a single comprehensive whole, and should be so regarded. Of the first, I would ask in all sincerity whether disagreement on the particular machinery to effect the end which we all alike pursue is sufficient ground for any man to stand aside, and decline to lend his weight to the joint effort of peoples that this undertaking represents. I have never concealed from myself that there are and will be differences of opinion between the two peoples, just as there are differences of opinion within Great Britain and India on these matters. It is through disagreement, and the clash of judgment, that it is given to us ultimately to approach the knowledge of the truth. It is also inevitable that on issues so momentous, difference of judgment will be founded on deep and sincere conviction. But, if difficult, our general line of conduct is surely plain. Where possible it is our duty to bring these differences to agreement; where this is at any given moment not practicable without surrender of something fundamental to our position, it is our duty to differ as friends, each respecting the standpoint of the other, and each being careful to see that we say or do nothing that will needlessly aggravate differences which we are unable immediately to resolve.

The effect that such differences will have upon the relations between the two countries will depend upon something which lies deeper than the differences themselves. All friendships are subject at times to strains which try the tempers and lay men under the necessity of exercising considerable forbearance and restraint. Such strains are indeed a sovereign test, for just as one is the stronger for rising superior to the temptation to which

another yields, so true friendship flourishes on the successful emergence from the very test which would dissolve any less firmly founded partnership. In real friendship each party is constrained to see the best in the other's case—to give credit for the best motives, and place the most charitable interpretation upon actions which they might wish otherwise. Above all, friends will strive to correct differences by appeal to the many things on which they are agreed, rather than lightly imperil friendship by insistence on points in regard to which they take conflicting views.

Thus I would fain trust it would be in the present case. I do not think I am mistaken if I assert that it is the fixed determination of the overwhelming majority of the citizens both of India and Great Britain to hold firmly by the good-will which, through many trials and it may be through some false steps on the part of each, has meant much to both. In each country there may be from time to time misunderstanding of the other. Let us not magnify such things beyond their value. Least of all let us permit such transient influences to lead us to lose sight of the rich prize of achievement of a common purpose, which we may assuredly win together but can hardly win in separation. It is my most earnest hope that this joint endeavour to solve a problem, on the wise treatment of which so much depends, may be inspired by such a spirit as shall offer good hope of reaching an issue to the great and abiding good of India and of all her sons.

IRWIN,
Viceroy and Governor General.

The 8th November, 1927.

APPENDIX I (c).

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes; and I apologise to the House for the rather long answer. As the House will remember, one of the provisions contained in the Indian Reforms Act of 1919 required "at the expiration of 10 years after the passing" of that Act, the appointment, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, of persons to be a Commission to inquire into the working of the Indian constitution and to consider the desirability of establishing, extending, modifying or restricting the degree of responsible government then existing there. The Government have decided, for various reasons which I need not now specify, that it is desirable to anticipate the date (December, 1929) contemplated by the Act and to appoint this most important Royal Commission forthwith.

Balancing the various considerations and endeavouring to give due weight to each, His Majesty's Government have decided upon the following procedure:

(a) They propose to recommend to His Majesty that the Statutory Commission should be composed as follows:

The right hon. and learned Member for Spen Valley—

Sir John Simon (*Chairman*);

Lord Burnham;

Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal;

The Hon. Member for Finchley (Mr. Cadogan);

The Right Hon. Member for Ince (Mr. Stephen Walsh);

The Right Hon. Gentleman the Minister of Mines (Colonel Lane-Fox);

The Hon. and Gallant Member for Lime-house (Major Attlee).

These names will be submitted to both Houses in Resolutions.

(b) His Majesty's Government cannot, of course, dictate to the Commission what procedure it shall follow, but they are of opinion that its task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Central Indian Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee, chosen from its elected and nominated un-official members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. This Committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the inquiry. It should be clearly understood that the purpose of this suggestion is not to limit the discretion of the Commission in hearing other witnesses.

(c) His Majesty's Government suggest that a similar procedure should be adopted with the provincial legislatures.

(d) The vast area to be covered may make it desirable that the task of taking evidence on the more purely administrative questions involved should be undertaken by some other authority which would be in the closest touch with the Commission. His Majesty's Government suggest that the Commis-

sion on arrival in India should consider and decide by what machinery this work may most appropriately be discharged. This will not, of course, debar the Commission from the advantage of taking evidence itself upon these subjects to whatever extent it may think desirable.

(e) When the Commission has reported and its Report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parliament. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt these proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them. And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals to consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the views of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations, who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee, and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult.

The ante-dating of the Commission involves an amendment of the Act and a Bill to this end will be introduced at once.

MR. MACDONALD: I am sure the whole House will recognise the grave importance of the statement that has just been made. May I ask the Prime Minister when he proposes to take these Resolutions recommending His Majesty's Government to make these appointments, and when we may expect to have the Bill before us? The sooner the better.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I agree. I cannot give the actual date, but it will be our endeavour to have it as soon as possible. We will keep in touch through the usual channels. I understand that the Bill amending the law has to come first; it will be a Bill merely altering the date. It may be for the convenience of the House to say that I think the main discussion will take place better on the Resolutions in which the names are concerned. That will give us a wider scope.

MR. MACDONALD: Does the Prime Minister propose to introduce the Bill here or in another place?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I understand the Bill is being introduced in another place to-day.

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE: Is it the intention to fix any date for the termination of the labours of the Commission, or can the Prime Minister give us any indication when he anticipates the Commission will finish its labours?

THE PRIME MINISTER: No, Sir. With regard to questions on details of that kind they can be answered much better when the discussion takes place in this House, and Members have not had time yet to study the answer, which is rather a long one.

SIR FRANK NELSON: May I ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that the personnel of the Commission he has just announced was apparently known in Calcutta four days ago and was announced by the entire Press of Great Britain three days ago?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes, Sir. I have no information as to how that leakage has occurred. To the best of our belief, it occurred in India.

COLONEL WEDGWOOD: May I ask whether the cost of the Statutory Commission will fall on the British Budget or the Indian Budget?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am afraid I cannot answer that question now. Obviously, all these questions can be replied to in the course of the discussion.

MR. WALLHEAD: Is it too late to include an Indian on the Royal Commission?

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is a broad question of principle which, if the Hon. Member feels strongly about, he will be able to raise during the Debate when it takes place.

APPENDIX I (d).

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD) rose to move to resolve, That this House concurs in the submission to His Majesty of the names of the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox and Major Attlee, to act as a Commission for the purposes of Section 84A of the Government of India Act. The noble Earl said: My Lords, the very difficult task which I attempt to-day to discharge is one of which it cannot be expected that it will meet with unanimous approval. The difficulties involved have been very great and I may, perhaps, illustrate them to your Lordships if I say that the correspondence which has taken place between myself and the two successive Viceroys with whom I have been associated upon this subject would certainly fill several volumes. I claim and I claim only, that with the advantage of the advice in the earlier years of my noble friend Lord Reading and in later years of Lord Irwin, at any rate this whole matter has been most carefully considered, that every alternative for the proposal which I put forward has been examined and a sincere attempt has been made to appraise the advantages and the disadvantages of each course which has been recommended and pressed upon me.

The motion which I have to move is:—

> "That this House concurs in the submission to His Majesty of the names or the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox and Major Attlee, to act as a Commission for the purpose of Section 84A of the Government of India Act."

I shall say something in a moment as to the reasons which led the Government to the conclusion that the Commission necessarily to be appointed either this year or next year or in the early months of the year afterwards, should be a purely Parliamentary Commission, but I may allow myself the grateful task at the outset of my speech of saying something in justification of the names which I recommend to the House.

Sir John Simon occupies a position at the Bar of England which has not been so completely filled by any advocate at the Bar in my recollection. He brings to the difficult tasks which await him a mind ingenious, acute, well-stored and assiduous, and it would indeed be wrong if we did not in this House recognise that he is making an immense sacrifice, as men count sacrifice, in undertaking the difficult duties which await him. I do not, of course, mean that Sir John Simon is merely making a financial sacrifice, but he is in a position in which, as one of the masters of his profession, he has no particular difficulties or anxieties in its discharge, for he is too consummately equipped in that profession to apprehend them. But he is undertaking duties of great novelty, of the utmost complexity, in circumstances in which it would only be possible for a very sanguine man to predicate that a solution would be attainable which would be accepted not only here but in India. No man can establish a larger claim upon the confidence of his fellow countrymen than that he undertakes a task of great

difficulty involving immense personal sacrifices, and I am certain of this, that the wish of your Lordships will be to give him every support in the difficult task which in the high spirit of public service he has undertaken.

There is another member of the Commission, a member of your Lordships' House, who has for a long period of time rendered public service. I mean my noble friend Lord Burnham. His special activity has, happily, been in the direction of making us better known in the outlying portions of the Empire. I have been made aware of many of his travels. I know of no Dominion which he has visited where his pleasant and tactful personality has not done much to create good feeling between us and those whom he has visited. For him, too, the sacrifice is considerable, for I may tell your Lordships that not only will it be necessary for those who are to be the Commissioners to spend some four months in India in the next cold weather, but it will certainly be the result of their earlier efforts in India on which material will be accumulated that will require sifting and examination on their return to this country, and they have then undertaken the very much greater labour involved in their second visit of spending some six or seven months in India, travelling through the various Provinces and acquainting themselves in great detail with the matters which are relevant for their consideration and necessary for their decision. Lord Burnham, again, has undertaken this task in the spirit of public duty, and I am sure that your Lordships will appreciate that a man no longer very young has undertaken a burden of this kind in the public interest.

Another member of your Lordships' House, a younger man, Lord Strathcona, recommended to us not only by a name which we honour but also by an individuality of character and an exhibition of industry which have carried him from an inferior plane of our activities to a not unimportant post in the Party organisation, has abandoned this and in my judgment rightly abandoned it for the purpose of a larger and a more important public service. I am glad that a member of your Lordships' House with energy and youth and competence for this task has been prepared to undertake its burdens. I come now for a moment to the members of the House of Commons. Of Colonel Lane-Fox I think I need not speak in terms of any particular recommendation. He is, indeed, known to many of your Lordships in his own personality and to all by name. He has discharged more than one high public position and to the discharge of every position he has brought equal competence, industry and conscientiousness. Mr. Cadogan is known, I suppose, to all of your Lordships who were members of the House of Commons. Those of your Lordships who had not the good fortune ever to be members of another place I may remind that he was the tactful, courteous and able secretary of the Speaker of the House of Commons for a period of many years. If any man can retain popularity with all sections of the House of Commons who is the secretary of Mr. Speaker for a period of many years I say of that man that he has many qualities which entitle him to sit upon this Commission.

Now I will say a word of the two representatives of the Opposition, Mr. Walsh and Major Attlee. Here I must make a slight digression. I thought it my duty to enter into some discussion with the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at an early stage in the development

of this matter, and I would desire in the most public manner to place it upon record that, consistently with his own position, his own responsibilities and his own duties, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald throughout the whole of these discussions has behaved as one would have expected a man to behave who has at one time held the high office of Prime Minister in this country and who, for all we know, may still hold it again. It would give an entirely wrong impression if I were to claim that Mr. MacDonald accepted any responsibility for the particular proposals which I bring before the House to-day. He did not accept them, I did not ask him to accept them, I did not expect that he should accept them. These responsibilities were the responsibilities of His Majesty's Government alone. We accept them and we shall accept the consequences of them.

It is perfectly open to any supporter of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, either in this House or in another place, to say: "We think that you would have exercised a wiser discretion if you had adopted a different form of Commission. That is your responsibility, it is not ours." Let it therefore be made perfectly plain when I say that I accepted the advice of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the case of the two gentlemen who are to be the Labour Members of this Commission. Let it be made perfectly plain that the position which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his friends are entitled to assume is this: "It is your scheme and not ours, but we would not take and we do not take the responsibility of saying, when once you have adopted this scheme, that we the leaders of the Labour Party in this country propose to boycott it."

After considerable discussion between Mr. MacDonald and myself two names were put forward and were accepted. The first was that of Mr. Stephen Walsh. Mr. Walsh is an old Lancashire Member of Parliament. I have known him well for twenty-one years. He entered Parliament at the same Election as myself. I know well how great his reputation is with the mining community of Lancashire, and I know, too, that as Secretary of State for War, he stamped an unaggressive but still a firm and real personality upon those with whom he associated at the War Office. I greatly welcome his inclusion upon this Commission. I am not able to say more of Major Attlee than this: he comes to me with a very strong recommendation not only from the Leader of the Labour Party for efficiency, capacity and industry, but those of my own Party in the House of Commons to whom I have spoken have been as forward in his praise as those who recommended him to me for inclusion as a member of this Commission. I am myself unhappily almost ten years remote now from the House of Commons and therefore I had not and have not the pleasure of Major Attlee's acquaintance. Such are the men who have undertaken these burdens. I have no hesitation in recommending them warmly to your Lordships' acceptance, and I think we are fortunate indeed in having discovered seven gentlemen, many of them members of the House of Commons and, in addition to the risks which I have already indicated, exposed to electioneering difficulties which may arise who knows when, who, nevertheless, have been prepared to add these to the other risks and inconveniences which they have undertaken.

A graver question now requires discussion, and it is here I apprehend that a difference of opinion which is founded upon principle may develop between myself and the opposition. Let me state it shortly. The question is: Should this Commission be a Parliamentary Commission consisting of members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords only, or should it be a Commission in which Indian members would have found a place? I have given for years, ever since I undertook the responsibilities of this office, my deep and constant attention to this topic. I have satisfied myself, and I am not without the hope that I may satisfy your Lordships and the public, that the decision which I recommend is not only right but it is the only decision which is reconcilable with the very purposes which all of us have in view. The problem of India is one the main features of which historically are very familiar and which I do not propose to examine in great detail to-day. Nevertheless I shall presume to say one or two things quite plainly. When we went to India, in that commercial guise which has frequently in history been our earliest approach to future Dominions, we found it a country discordant, dissentient within itself, of warring sects, with no prospect of a stable and unified Dominion. I examine not at all, for it would be remote from and irrelevant to my purpose, the early history. I collect from that history only the conclusion which is logically required for my present argument and I state it plainly and boldly. It is that the intervention of this country in India, and that intervention alone, saved it at the relevant period from a welter or anarchy.

Now, my Lords, I approach the present. It has been my duty to talk in the last three years to many distinguished Indians of every faith, every persuasion, every bent of political thought. I have asked all of those who were inclined to be critical of our attitude in relation to the future constitutional development of India this question: "Do you desire that the British Army should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the Civil Service should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the protection of the British Navy should be withdrawn from the Indian shores?" I have never found one Indian, however hostile to this Government, however, critical of our proposals in relation to Indian development, who desired that the Army should be withdrawn, or that the Indian Civil Service should be withdrawn, or that the protection of the Navy should be withdrawn. Why do I state this proposition in a form so plain? It is to found upon it, as its logical conclusion, another. We undertook by Act of Parliament—that Act which substituted for the authority of the Company the authority of the British Government—Parliamentary responsibility. Does any one really suppose that the Parliament of this country, which by Act of Parliament assumed to itself the responsibilities and the functions of the Company, which, as the historical facts that I have shortly stated show, is still confronted by precisely the same problems in India as confronted our predecessor at the moment when in the first place the activities of our commercial and trading bodies, supported by the force of arms, composed the warring sects of India, when it is still conceded that our withdrawal to-morrow would reproduce precisely the conditions which existed when we went there—how can anyone in those circumstances pretend that, whatever other point may be disputable, the responsibility of Parliament not only

does not still survive but is not an exclusive responsibility from which Parliament cannot divorce itself without being false to the long and glorious history of the association of England and India?

If this be the responsibility of Parliament, considerations of no small importance arise. I had to decide, before making a recommendation to my colleagues, which they accepted, as to the character of this Commission, whether or not it ought to be a Parliamentary Commission. This, as I understand, is the point in relation to which doubts are principally entertained by those who criticise our proposals. Let me therefore examine it, with the indulgence of the House, with some care. If I am right in saying that it was Parliament which was responsible for that first and momentous charge which deprived the Company of its political activities, if from that moment Parliament has been charged with responsibility, how can we divorce ourselves from the responsibility at this moment? Observe that it is only eight years since this same Parliament, by what is known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform, by a great Public Act created the Constitution which is now to be the subject of revision and re-examination.

It is sometimes said by our critics in India that it is for a round-table conference or a Congress in India to decide upon the form of Constitution suitable for themselves, and then for the British Parliament formally to pass it. This suggestion has not been lightly made. It has been seriously made by men who are entitled that their observations shall be seriously accepted. I can only make this comment. I have twice in the three years during which I have been Secretary of State invited our critics in India to put forward their own suggestions for a Constitution, to indicate to us the form which in their judgment any reform of the Constitution should take. That offer is still open. It is most expressly repeated, as I shall show in a moment, in the proposals which we make for the association of Indians with the activities of the Commission. But let it be plainly said—it cannot be too plainly said—that Parliament cannot, and will not, repudiate its own duties, its own responsibility, in this matter. If anybody seriously supposes either here or in India, that we are mechanically to accept a Constitution without our own primary and ultimate responsibility for judging upon it, they have no contact with the realities of the actual situation.

We therefore formed the clear view that this Commission must be a Parliamentary Commission. It was suggested, and is being suggested still, that we ought to have associated Indians with the Commissioners in order not to inflict a supposed affront upon Indian susceptibilities. That consideration deserves the most careful attention, and, indeed, I may make it quite plain that I have given it for a period of three years my almost unbroken attention. I have considered it from every angle; there is no argument which can be put forward in its support which I have not already, to the best measure of my capacity, examined. The question whether I am right or wrong cannot be answered without deciding what is the true function of this Commission. The function of the Commission is a simple one. It is to report to Parliament. When once the Commissioners have reported, they are *functi officio*. The task then belongs to others. What is it that Parliament was entitled to require from these reporters? What could these reporters contribute that would be most helpful to Parliament? I find myself in

no doubt as to the answer to both these questions. Parliament could most be helped by the opinions of men of admitted integrity and independence, without any commitments of any kind at all in the past events of history, who went there with one object and one object only—namely, to acquaint themselves with the actualities of the problem and to equip themselves to be the wise advisers of Parliament.

We are in this country accustomed to pride ourselves upon the jury system. It has frequently been said that the collective intelligence of twelve jury men is incomparably greater than the individual intelligence of any one among their number. I hope it will not be considered that I am making any observation which is slighting to the distinguished men who are members of this Commission if I say that I conceive of them as an exceptionally intelligent jury, going to India without any preconceived ideas at all, and with no task except to come to this country and give the honest result of the examination which they make of Indian politics.

I have only two things to add on the issue whether we were right or wrong in deciding upon a purely Parliamentary Commission. I have no doubt whatever, speaking as a constitutional lawyer, that the framers of the original and determining Act, when they spoke of a Commission contemplated a Parliamentary Commission. It is true that in terms they did not so state it, but I draw the inference that they did not so state it because they thought it so obvious. I observe my noble friend Lord Chelmsford in his place in this House. I am not entitled, unless he thinks proper to contribute it, to ask him his opinion, but I should be greatly astonished if he were not prepared to state that at the time when this Commission was contemplated in the governing Act any other idea was in his head, or in the head of Mr. Montagu, except that the Commission should be entirely a Parliamentary Commission.

What would have been the alternative? It is said lightly by those who have not considered very deeply the facts, that a few Indian representatives ought to have been made members of the Commission. I was reading a speech reported in the *Pioneer Mail* a few days ago by a very distinguished member of the Legislature, who himself is a Hindu of high position and ability. It is from a speech of Mr. Goswami, made at the All India Congress—a meeting not altogether favourable to His Majesty's Government or to the present Secretary of State. He said that he did not know if there were any Mahomedan organisation in the country which represented the opinion of the Mahomedans, but so far as his own community was concerned he was certain there was no such organisation which could speak in the name of the Hindu community. We know it, therefore, from a very prominent member of the Hindu community, that in his judgment there is no one in all India who can speak officially in the name of the Hindu community.

As to the opinions of the Moslems, while we have heard some repercussions of them in the newspapers in the last few days, it has been my duty very carefully, in consultation with the Viceroy, to study the expressions of opinion which have appeared in the Indian Press and to appraise their value. I am not in the least depressed or discouraged by them. I knew that there would be many who, whatever proposal the Government brought forward, would be dissatisfied with it. But I find many elements in that great and

heterogenous population who will not be dissatisfied and who in no event will make themselves party to a boycott. Do not let us ever forget that the population of India—I suppose a general figure will be sufficient for my purpose—is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 300,000,000 people. Of those 300,000,000 some 70,000,000 belong to the Native States, and are not primarily concerned with our present Inquiry. I should suppose that of the 230,000,000 who remain about 220,000,000 have never heard of the Commission at all, and I do not believe it to be a bold prediction to say that about 200,000,000 are unaware that they are living under the benefits of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

One must retain some contact with reality when dealing with the Indian population. Remember how infinitesimal is the number of those who vote when an election comes and, of that fractional percentage who vote, how large a proportion consists of the illiterate class, who mark their papers because they are unable to write. We in this House, and those in another place, have the responsibility not for a loudly articulate India but for the real India as a whole—that India which consists, as I have said, of 300,000,000 people. I only deal with it because I think it calls to be dealt with, I saw it stated in another place, by a member of the House of Commons, that a book which has created wide public attention, called "Mother India" —It is written by Miss Mayo, I think—that that was inspired either by the Government of India or by the Government of this country. I should not deal with this matter if I were not so struck by the complete irresponsibility which would enable a member of another place to make a statement so absolutely false, without putting forward a vestige of evidence. I most expressly invite that lady either to withdraw that charge or to produce the evidence upon which she founded herself.

I was dealing with the complexity of the interests involved, and inviting the House to consider how it would have been necessary for me to proceed if I had taken a different decision, or if I had been supported by my colleagues in taking a different decision, and if we decided that there should be Indians on the Commission. In the first place it would have been evidently necessary to have a Hindu member, although I should have been in the difficulty, which Mr. Goswami's statement made plain, that there is no Hindu orgainsation. I suppose it would have been necessary in the first place to provide myself with a representative Hindu as a member of the Commission. In the next place the moment I had announced the name of a Hindu it would indisputably have become necessary to provide a non-Brahmin Hindu, because the idea that a Hindu would be accepted as a representative member by the non-Brahmin Hindu is to those who know the facts ludicrous. In the next place I must have a Mahomedan and I must have a Sikh. That is four Indian members to begin with.

Let me inform the House, for these matters are not very widely known, that various remaining classes have in fact established their right to separate representation in Provincial Legislatures, so that their claim is quite certain to be put forward in this connection. They will say: "Do not tell me that I am to be represented by a Hindu, or a non-Brahmin Hindu, or by a Mohamedan, or by a Sikh. My case is a different one"; and they have, in fact, achieved recognition of their claim in one or other of the Provincial

Assemblies. I take, first of all, the Christians. I suppose they are entitled to be at least considered in India. They are a very numerous and a growing community, and they would certainly desire that their views should be put forward.

Let me take another case, the case of the depressed classes. There is in India a vast population, even in relation to the numbers with which we are dealing, a population of 60,000,000 people in India, of the depressed classes. Their condition is not quite as terrible, not quite as poignant as it has been in the past, but it is still terrible and poignant. They are repelled from all social intercourse. If they come between the gracious light of the sun and one who despises them, the sun is disfigured for that man, for they cannot drink at the public water supply, they must make diversions of miles in order to satisfy their thirst, and they are tragically known, and they have been known for generations, as "the untouchable". There are 60,000,000 of them in India. Am I to have a representative of them upon this Commission? Never, never would I form a Commission, nor would anyone in a democratic country, nor would my friends opposite recommend it, from which you excluded a member of this class which, more than any other, requires representation, if you are indeed to put the matter to a mixed jury of the kind which I am indicating.

I have not dealt with others—the aborigines and the inhabitants of backward tracts, or the special representatives of the cotton trade, all of whom have been strong enough to assert their claim to individual representation upon Provincial Assemblies. My proposition is of a more general kind. It would be impossible to form a Commission, other than a Parliamentary Commission, which would not excite reasonable complaints of exclusion on the part of the persons who have very strong claims to be included. And what would the help be to Parliament? It is, I suppose, conceded that if I had representatives of the classes whom I have indicated I could not possibly exclude the Indian Civil Service. After all, the Indian Civil Service has deeply-rooted interests in India. It has rendered prodigious service over the ages. Mr. Lloyd George once said that they are the steel framework around which the whole building has been constructed. It is not, I imagine, suggested that, if you were to admit other than Parliamentary representatives, you could exclude members of the Indian Civil Service. Had we proceeded upon those lines we should have found ourselves with a Commission of some eighteen or twenty people. That such a body would be convenient for the task assigned to them no instructed person, I believe, will seriously contend.

But let us attempt to imagine the resulting situation had a body so unwieldy been in fact appointed. Does any one suppose that there would have been a unanimous Report? There may not be a unanimous Report now. But at any rate we shall have a report which proceeds upon the same general point of view and principle. But what would be the Report from a body such as I have indicated? What guidance would it give to Parliament in the immensely difficult task that will await the Parliament of one year, or two or three years from now? It is obvious—because the tension and the acuteness to-day of these unhappy communal quarrels are greater in my judgment than they have been for some twelve or thirteen years in

Indian history—that you would have a very strong partisan Hindu Report, you would have a very strong Moslem Report, and you would have three or four other dissenting Reports from various sections deeply interested in the decisions which are taken.

Imagine the Joint Committee which we contemplate setting up. Imagine Parliament being assisted by the disclosure of dissenting views of this kind? I do ask for an indulgent judgment as to whether, confronted with this alternative, I have not taken the right view when I have said that seven members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, well known and respected in each House, shall go out, using every means of associating Indian opinion with them, and shall shortly pass and present to Parliament a Report which Parliament will be in a position to understand, and by which it may usefully be guided. But it may, indeed, be very reasonably said: "Are Indians to be denied any opportunity of contributing to these decisions? Had I made any such proposal I should have known that it was foredoomed to failure, not only in India, not only in the House of Commons, but indeed in this House. There is as great a determination to secure fair play for reasonable Indian aspirations in this House as there is in another place.

Let me make plain what our proposals are in this respect, for indeed I think that they have been greatly misunderstood. It is our purpose that the Commission when it visits India should establish contact with a Committee appointed for that purpose by the Central Legislature. I pause there to point out that constitutionally the Central Legislature is the body who most authoritatively can appoint members from its own numbers to confer with the members of the Commission. I assume that appointment will be made, because I cannot believe that those who are anxious to persuade the Government of this country that they are fit for a further measure of self-government will undertake the deep and most unwise responsibility of refusing to associate themselves with us in the first and genuine efforts which we make to ascertain the road which we must tread in common together if we are indeed to reach that goal. I therefore do not, and I will not, assume that they will be guilty of the unwisdom of refusing to appoint such a Committee.

Now what would be the function of that Committee? It has been most irrationally assumed that they were merely to appear as witnesses before the Commission. That is not the case. They are invited in a spirit of great sincerity to co-operate as colleagues with the Commission. It is contemplated that they shall prepare—in advance of the arrival of the Commission if they find themselves able to do it this next cold weather, and, if they find themselves within that limited period unable to do it, a year later their own proposals and come before the Commission and say: "These are our suggestions." We have claimed, and they have claimed that the West cannot devise a Constitution for the East, that you cannot put Eastern wine into Western bottles. Well, if there be behind that claim, and I do not doubt its sincerity and real feeling, we afford them an oportunity of confronting our Commission with their own proposals, which can be made public, which can be analysed, criticised, can be accepted or can be rejected, after that analysis and after that criticism. No greater opportunity was ever given

than is afforded to the Central Committee in the first place by the suggestion that they should confront the Commission with their own constructive proposals.

Now let us try to see how the Commission will develop. It is very difficult to apply one's mind with accurate precision to so many unknown and in the main unforeseeable contingencies. But I will tell your Lordships how I think of the Commission as developing in its activities. They will retain contact with the Committee of the Central Legislature as long as their deliberations extend to matters with which the Central Legislature is principally concerned, and they will temporarily lose that contact when they are making journeys into the Provinces. But even here they will not be deprived of the constant refreshment of Indian opinion. For it is proposed—I see no recognition of this fact in any of the Indian papers—that in every Province in which they journey there shall be created there a Committee of the Provincial Legislature which shall discharge the same consultative functions with the Commissioners as are discharged at the centre of Government by the Committee of the Central Legislature. At no point, therefore, will the representatives of the Indian Legislatures be deprived of the opportunity of influencing the views of the Commissioners. Let no one make the mistake of supposing that we are attempting here to interpose into the scheme any official members. Members of the Central Committee and the members of the Provincial Committees will all be elected and non-official members. I claim that no one could have done more than we have done to protect ourselves by making it certain that the Report of the Commission to Parliament should be at least illumined by a knowledge of what contemporary Indian politicians are deeply thinking.

But, observe our next stage. Not a word has been said in recognition of this. Yet let it be pointed out that an enormous opportunity of intervening at the most critical moment of all is contained in our proposals. It is well known that we intend that after the Commission has presented its Report the proposals of the Government thereon will be sent, in accordance with precedent, to a Joint Conference of both Houses of Parliament. Your Lordships, or those who were interested in Indian affairs at that time, will not have forgotten how considerable was the contribution, how unremitting the industry of the Joint Committee which reported upon the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. It is our intention to set up a similar body. Supposing it be the fact that in spite of the constant contact in India between the Central Committee at the heart of government and the Provincial Committees of the Legislatures in each Province to which the Commission will journey, that in spite of all those opportunities of ascertaining opinion the Indians have failed to make good their view upon the independent and unbiased judgment of the Commission, they are not even then compelled to acquiesce.

They will on the whole have been given an opportunity which in my judgment has never been given in the whole history of Constitution-making to any people who are in their position. We invite the Central Government to appoint a Committee to come and sit with our Joint Committee. They can examine the Report of the Commission. They are even given a function, if they could only understand it, more important than that of the Commission itself. When once the Commission has made its Report, it has

finished. But its critics remain and its critics are most formally and specially invited to come and sit with the General Committee in Parliament and to develop any criticisms or objections that they feel to the Report which the Commission has made.

I cannot say more than that, being deeply committed, as we are deeply committed, to the view which I have attempted to justify in argument, that this Commission must be Parliamentary in character, we have neglected no resources which either our own ingenuity could suggest or our advisers could put forward to carry with us as far as we could Indian opinion at every stage. If, without the destruction of our central scheme, from which we have no intention of departing, noble Lords can suggest to me any method in which I can make it even plainer that our purpose is not to affront Indian opinion but rather to conciliate and make it friendly to us, it shall be most deeply considered. But I would add one word of caution only. We must take no step which will lead to the risk that we shall have two Reports proceeding from two Commissions. The responsibility, as I have made it plain, is and must be the responsibility of Parliament. We have conceived of every means open to our imagination to associate with the conclusions which the Commission has presented to Parliament Indian opinions and even Indian prejudice. So long as it does not destroy our scheme we shall listen with sympathy to any suggestion that is made; but we are satisfied that we have discharged in the best interests, not only of this country but of India itself, the duty which we inherited from others of composing the Statutory Commission. I beg to move.

Moved to resolve, That this House concurs in the submission to His Majesty of the names of the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox and Major Attlee, to act as a Commission for the purposes of Section 84A of the Government of India Act.—(*The Earl of Birkenhead.*)

THE MARQUESS OF READING: My Lords, the subject of the earlier appointment of a Statutory Commission has been discussed many times and by various Secretaries of State. I think I am right in saying that during my period of office I discussed it with four Secretaries of State, and with Secretaries of State in different Governments, and it is now a satisfaction to me to find that a conclusion has been reached to appoint the Commission at an earlier date than was provided by the Statute of 1919. I cannot but wish that the speech of the Secretary of State, to which we all listened with so much pleasure and interest, had been delivered earlier. It might have prevented much of that which has happened since. It is useless now to go back upon that period, but nevertheless it does seem to me that it was most unfortunate, and in some respects incomprehensible, that whilst we had a statement made as early as November 8, which was in consequence of the premature and incomplete disclosure from India of the names of those appointed to the Commission, we should not have had the opportunity of a debate in this House which would have helped very much, I think, to clear the atmosphere. In the speech of my noble friend the Secretary of State, and also in that of my noble friend Lord Olivier, there is material which I trust will cause Indians to ponder seriously before they proceed with the

movement which in some quarters has been definitely adopted and announced. The difficulties of the earlier debate no doubt arose from the fact, as I understand it, that, as the Statute had not yet been passed which permitted the earlier appointment of the Commission, it would be impossible constitutionally (so I gathered) to discuss the appointment of those who were to form the Commission. It seems to me that ways might have been found to enable us to proceed with the debate, and to listen at least a fortnight earlier to the observations which the Secretary of State made to-day. But that is all past, and what we have now to do is to attempt to rid India of the notion that the Government has intended to place any stamp of inferiority upon, or to humiliate in any way, the Indian politician or the Indian Nationalist, or that there has been the slightest desire to say that the Indian is not capable of standing on an equality with the British in matters of this character. That certainly was not the idea, I am sure.

For my own part I give the most unqualified support to the proposal which has been put forward by the Government. This is in no sense a Party question. India, fortunately, is outside Party controversy. The main grounds of policy are well sifted. They have been adopted by Parliament. Several Governments have now been in existence since the Act of 1919 was passed. There has been no deviation from the policy which was declared in 1917, and carried out by the Statute of 1919, and I am confident that there will be none, because the statement that has been made, and especially the declaration by His Majesty, made on the advice of his Ministers to the Indian people, is in itself a charter which cannot be abrogated; and from which there can be no deviation. But the real points that divide the Nationalists in India and those who are not prepared to go forward as fast as those Nationalists would desire is a question of time and method and of the various steps that might be taken on the road to that self-government which is promised to India within the words of the Statute. I have myself often wondered and considered what form the Commission should take. I am emboldened, especially by the observations made by Lord Olivier when he referred to certain proposals that had been made to, and discussed with, me when I was Viceroy, to remind him that when his Government was in office proposals of this character, relating to the earlier appointment of the Commission, were discussed between his Government and myself.

LORD OLIVIER: I said that those would appear in the noble Earl's memoirs.

THE EARL OF READING: Well, I am not going to wait until they appear. This has been a question which has been agitating the mind of every Secretary of State, and also of the Viceroy of the time—of myself and of my successor. There has been no period at which we have not been discussing it. I find some satisfaction in the thought that I always was in favour of appointing the Commission in the cold weather of 1927, and I am very glad indeed that my successor, Lord Irwin, has come to the same conclusion, and that the Government has itself arrived at that decision.

The real difficulty that we have to deal with concerns the composition of the Commission. It is said that it is an affront to India to appoint a Parliamentary Commission, and to exclude Indians. I cannot but think that there is misapprehension in the minds of those who come to that conclusion—

very serious misapprehension. It is not to be wondered at. I think we must be a little careful not to blame Indians for any views which they may have expressed, when it is remembered that they knew of the Commission and its composition before they were aware of any of the very admirable safeguards which have been introduced by the Government. If a Commission had been contemplated, composed of men who had had experience of India, who had lived part of their life in India, had perhaps held office as Governors of Provinces, and of various persons who from one reason or another had considerable knowledge of Indian affairs, I should have said without hesitation that we could not have appointed such a Commission without appointing a number of Indians; and I doubt very much whether there would have been any division of opinion on that subject. But that is not the Commission that is appointed; it is totally different one. Indeed, the selection that has been made is of gentlemen, Members, who may perhaps have Houses, who have had no special experience of India, who may perhaps have paid a visit to India, but merely as sightseers and tourists, and who have had really nothing to do with the administration of affairs in India. And that is the central point upon which all argument must rest. For it is quite impossible to find any gentleman, who has passed his life in India, who has perhaps been born and lived with his family there, who could approach this question with the same standpoint as those who have been appointed and will sail to India to inform themselves in order to inform the British Parliament.

I have wondered sometimes, when reflecting upon a Commission composed of British and Indians, how it would be possible to find Indians who have not already committed themselves to a definite view, and I think I shall be borne out by everyone who has knowledge of Indian politics if I say that there is no leading Indian politician, indeed no Indian politician who might not aspire to be a leader, who has not already committed himself again and again on the very subject which we are now discussing. It occurred to me during the debate that there was a Committee appointed in 1924. The earliest occasion on which I remember some Resolution in favour of anticipating the date of the Commission and appointing it much earlier than 1929, curiously enough arose actually in 1921, just after the Parliaments had been inaugurated and almost within a month or two of my succeeding my noble friend Lord Chelmsford. It was one of the earliest Resolutions that I encountered in India and it certainly was during 1921. That was the state of affairs which continued until 1923, when there were Resolutions and in 1924 there were definite Resolutions to that effect. Then a Committee was appointed, of which your Lordships are no doubt aware, which was called the Reforms Inquiry Committee. It is very often referred to as the Muddiman Committee because it was presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman.

It was composed of Indians and British. Sir Alexander Muddiman, who was then the Home Member and the Leader for the Government in the Legislative Assembly, was the Chairman. Associated with him were two British members, Sir Charles Innes, who was Member of the Viceroy's Council for Commerce, and Sir Arthur Frome, who was an unofficial European representative. The other six composing the Commission were Indians. I do not desire to travel into the history of that Commission. I only refer

to it to point out that as a result there was a very full debate in the Legislative Assembly in 1925. In that debate Resolutions were formulated which represented the views of those who were in favour of an immediate advance and who stated from their point of view what they wished the Government to do. There was a very long Resolution which formulated a Constitution. It left the details to be settled by a round table conference or by a Commission. But in substance it stated definitely what they wished, and the views were that there must be both a Central Legislature and Provincial Legislatures, composed of representatives elected on a wide franchise, and that the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Central Legislature. Finance and various matters were dealt with and there were certain reservations with regard to the Army into which I need not go; but it was definitely shaped by the leaders of political thought in India, certainly by those who were taking a prominent part in the debate in the Legislative Assembly.

I noticed the names of those who spoke strongly in favour of these Resolutions and who, of course, were entitled to represent their views with all the force they could command. They were doing it in a perfectly constitutional manner, and although as a Government we might not agree with them and thought that they were proceeding too fast and going to far, yet no fault could be found with their manner of presenting the case or with the Resolutions which from their point of view they had advanced. But all those who made themselves responsible for that definite declaration are now taking part largely in the agitation which is proceeding in India for the purpose of boycotting the Council.

The question that I have put to myself and which I have no doubt the Secretary of State must have considered again and again is: Would it be possible to appoint a Commission in which the leaders of Nationalist opinion would take part with the knowledge that they themselves, not once but over and over again, had committed themselves to a definite view as to the policy for which they wished and from which they would not depart? It seems to me that that is really putting men on the Commission with the knowledge that the opinions they would express are the opinions they have already expressed. I am prepared to admit that they would sit on the Commission with every desire to be perfectly fair and to keep an open mind. Nevertheless they have been thinking about this subject for a very long time and, as I have indicated, have already given pledges from which it would seem very difficult for them to recede. I mention that again merely for the purpose of illustrating the difficulties there would have been had the Government set about appointing a Commission composed of those who had Indian experience. To leave those men out would at once have been a challenge to Indian political opinion and thought, and it would have been assumed that it was done purposely with the object either of humiliating them or of preventing their voices and opinions having full weight.

Confronted with all these difficulties and those referred to already by the Secretary of State, which I will not repeat, it seems to me that there was no alternative but the Parliamentary Commission to which the Government have had recourse. I cannot profess to say what was in the minds of Mr. Montagu or my noble friend Lord Chelmsford when this particular section of the Statute was drafted and when they came to the conclusion

that there should be a revision. I do not know what they had in mind, but I should be very surprised to find that they had definitely ruled out altogether a Parliamentary Commission. I should not be surprised to learn from them that what they always contemplated was a Commission of Parliamentary representatives from this country. We shall, perhaps, get more information from my noble friend if he intervenes in this debate.

I have arrived at my conclusion entirely unaided by my noble friend the Secretary of State. By that I mean that although I had had with him, during the period when I was Viceroy and since, many discussions on Indian affairs and on this subject, I was unaware of the decision of the Government to appoint a Parliamentary Commission until just a little time before the announcement was made. That enables me to say that my views are quite independent and quite free and unbiased by anything that may have been said recently, at any rate on this subject, by the Secretary of State to me, and that the conclusion to which I came is the conclusion which the Government had already reached. I cannot think there was any other course open.

Although it is a great satisfaction to find that there is no division of opinion in this House with regard to the appointment of the Commission and certainly none with regard to those who are to be appointed, I am a little troubled in mind by the suggestions made by my noble friend Lord Olivier, when he told us what was desired by his Party in order that full support might be given. I do not propose to analyse the proposals. I do not know whether the Secretary of State had them before him when he was speaking. All I will say for myself is that I should have thought that those proposals, which, I presume, as the language was read out to us, represent formally what is desired by the Party, were quite impossible of acceptance. I shall not attempt to go into them in detail. To adopt the suggestion that there should be two Reports, one a Report by an Indian Committee—that is, of gentlemen who would be in India constituting the Committee that was to be formed—and another a Report by the Commission to be appointed in this country, would really be to place the Parliamentary Commission in an impossible position. I do not think I am exaggerating when I so describe it. If one draws the picture of what would happen on such conditions one immediately arrives at the conclusion that chaos must ensue. You would have two totally different Reports, I suppose, in any event.

I do not intend to go further into those proposals. They are matters for His Majesty's Government. I am merely expressing the views which I have reached and of those who are associated with me in this House. There is much to be done. Although I could not go anything like the length suggested by my noble friend, I believe that no better plan could be devised. Certainly I am not able to think of a better one. There has been no more elaborate plan prepared to safeguard the interests of Indian politicians and of those who, although not politicians, may nevertheless desire to be heard upon this subject, than the provisions that have been made, no doubt in consultation between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It is especially with reference to those safeguards that I should like to make a few observations. One cannot tell how much of what one says in this House may travel to India. I have been the recipient of telegrams from leading Indian politicians in India, with whom I was on terms of friendship in India,

making an appeal to me. My answer to them must be that all the safeguards that they really would desire are already provided. They will have the opportunity, as my noble friend has said, of presenting their views, not only by the Committee of the Central Legislature, but also by the Committee appointed by themselves, a non-official Committee of elected men, unofficial in every respect, for the purpose of arriving at the conclusions which they wish to put before the Commission, and there they may be quite certain they will get an excellent and dispassionate hearing. I cannot think that a better Chairman could have been found for this purpose, or one who would satisfy Indian public opinion more thoroughly, than Sir John Simon, who is going out to undertake this very responsible duty.

I am oppressed by some apprehension lest the Indian politicians may be led away into carrying out this policy of boycott, of refraining from presenting themselves, of refusing to have, in the language of one telegram to me, anything whatever to do with the Commission in any shape or form. I know that the Indian gentleman, indeed, I was going to say the Indian of every class, is very sensitive. He is perhaps none the less sensitive because he is ruled over by a Government which is not his own, and he is prone to take offence when none is meant. He is, because of these very facts, rather inclined to think that there is some desire to wound him or, if not to wound him, to place him in a position of inferiority. When he has read what the Secretary of State has had to say to us to-day, I believe that in his heart he will find that he has been mistaken. Although it is very difficult for a politician in India, as it is in England, to recede from a position which he has once publicly announced, yet I am hopeful that there will be a change and that it will be recognised that everything that could be done for them has, in fact, been done in this connection.

I would only add, in conclusion, that some of my Indian friends, if they will look back on the events of the last few years and even beyond, will find that this policy of abstaining from any intercourse with the Commission or with the Government has not always been productive of benefit to India, that it is rather a perilous instrument to use and sometimes it recoils upon those who adopt it. If the policy were persisted in I have no hesitation in saying that a grave error will have been committed. An opportunity is presented to India to put the whole of her case before a Tribunal presided over by a Chairman of the character and the capacity of Sir John Simon. The whole purpose of it is that the gentlemen forming the Commission shall inform themselves, educate themselves so to speak, when they are in India, on the views of Indians, that they shall learn everything that there is to be said on the subject, that they shall duly and faithfully report to Parliament when they return, and that they shall give their conclusions, which at least we may be assured are not the conclusions of those who reason *a priori* but will be decisions arrived at by them after carefully weighing and sifting all the evidence that is presented to them.

In regard to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, of which we naturally have heard much in this debate, I have expressed myself before in this House and also in India as of opinion that they have proved on the whole to have been better devised even, perhaps, than those who had a leading part in them themselves thought at the time. I am not for a moment

suggesting that they are not capable of amendment, but I do believe that in them there is a foundation well laid, and that it rests with India now to show to the British public that from the experience which she has had, from the knowledge that she has acquired of Parliamentary Government, from all the various events that have taken place during these eventful years—after all, the Legislatures have only existed since the beginning of 1921—she is now able to present a case and arguments which will enable the Commission to form its own opinion and to report to Parliament, when Parliament again will have the opportunity of hearing the Indian Committee if they desire to make their representations. In those circumstances they have really the best protection that could be devised for them and it would be very unwise of them, I venture to think, if they refrained from making every possible use of the opportunities that are afforded them.

VISCOUNT CHELMSFORD: My Lords, in the course of his speech my noble friend the Secretary of State for India expressed the hope that I should make it clear what was in the minds of Mr. Montagu and myself when we made a recommendation that after a period of ten years our reforms should be subject to examination by a Commission. I am deeply committed in this matter, and I think I can give a very clear answer to my noble friend. When Mr. Montagu and I were exploring the question of reforms, now ten years ago, we were struck by this fact: that while during John Company days a periodic examination by a Parliamentary Committee took place, I think every twenty years, in connection with the renewal of the Charter, that since the assumption by the Crown of the Government of India no such Parliamentary inquiry has ever taken place. I put aside those annual debates in another place, which cannot be regarded as evincing even a Parliamentary interest in what is going on in India, and I doubt whether in another place on the occasion of the annual review—it used to be on the Estimate for the Secretary of State's salary, but now I am not sure what is the exact technical peg on which the debate hangs—there were not even fewer Members in the House perhaps than are in your Lordships' House at the present time.

We felt that this was singularly unfortunate because Parliament did not keep in that close touch with the development of India which really should have been the case when Parliament had actually taken over the Government of India. In fact we note this paradox in our Report, that Parliament ceased to exercise control at the very moment when it required it. The consequence has been, I think, that the advance that has been made in constitutional reform in India has escaped the notice of Parliament; and the inevitability of the steps which have been taken has escaped the notice both of members of this House and of the other House. If they had kept in that close touch, they would have realised the various stages of development that have taken place since the Councils Act of 1861, the later Act of 1892 and the Act of 1909. All these have been stages, and warning stages, in the history of constitutional development in India. Yet when Mr. Montagu and I came with our proposals in 1919 those proposals came as a shock to members of both Houses because they had not realised what had been gradually developing during those years. Therefore I can say quite clearly that what was in our mind was the revival of that old system of Parliamentary inquiry which took place under John Company.

We regarded our reforms as a new Charter and we felt it was desirable that from time to time, as in the case of John Company's Charter, those reforms should be examined and scrutinised. Unfortunately my colleague Mr. Montagu is not with us to-day, and I cannot express what his views might have been to-day, but I should like to point out to your Lordships that in the appointment of the Joint Committee presided over by my noble friend the Earl of Selborne, to which he was a party, he quite clearly showed what was in his mind, even though that may be as long ago as eight years. I will quote this passage from the Report:—

"But the Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly-elected Legislatures of India."

THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD: Where is that quoted from?

VISCOUNT CHELMSFORD: I am quoting from the Report of the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons, presided over by the Earl of Selborne, to whom was committed the examination of the Bill which resulted in the Act of 1919. Mr. Montagu was a party to that Report and I think that quotation alone would show what was in his mind—that it was definitely a Parliamentary Commission or Committee, call it which you will, which he had in his mind to examine the constitutional development in India. Therefore, as I said at the beginning, I am deeply committed to the belief that this inquiry by Commission should be through the medium of a Parliamentary Commission. Of course it has been made quite clear during this debate that the Secretary of State for India, my noble friend behind me (Lord Olivier) and my noble friend the Marquess of Reading all contemplate that Indians should be closely associated with the work of this Commission, but I do share the regret which my noble friend the Marquess of Reading expressed just now, and I think it is a pity that this debate did not take place at an earlier moment.

My old friend Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Commission, did attempt to remedy this in a letter which he wrote—it was a curious method, but I suppose it was the only one open to him—to, I think, the Parliamentary agent in his constituency. In the last paragraph of that letter—I wish I had it here so that I could quote it—he set out in most admirable terms the view he took with regard to the association of Indians with this Commission, I think, after the course this debate has taken to-day, that it is scarcely necessary to attempt to emphasise what has been in the minds, I imagine, of His Majesty's Government, and would have been in the minds of any Government which had responsibility in this matter, that Indians should be closely associated in the most effective way with the working of this Commission. I earnestly hope that the appeal to Indians made just now by my noble friend Lord Reading will get out to them in India. There is no reflection at all upon Indians in the constitution of this Committee, and there is no idea of shutting them out from the full expression of their views.

There is one matter which has not so far been much touched upon, and yet I think it is very vital that everybody who has an interest in this matter should bear it in mind. Mr. Montagu and I were closely conditioned by the announcement of His Majesty's Government in August, 1917. That same condition applies to the Commission which is now going out. That announcement appeared in the Preamble of the Act under which the Commission is now being appointed, and I think perhaps it will bring home the meaning of this fact to your Lordships if I very briefly and concisely indicate to you the history of reform as I saw it in my time. I think it will show very clearly how this Commission will be conditioned by the terms of that announcement.

I think the ball was set rolling with regard to the policy of reform by a very remarkable utterance made by my noble friend Lord Sinha, who is not here to-night. In 1915 he addressed the Indian National Congress as their President. It is very remarkable that, with the extreme views expressed by many Indians at that time, a man of his moderation, the foremost Indian of the time, should have been chosen. The remarkable passage in Lord Sinha's address was that in which he pleaded with the British Government to declare two things: first, their policy with regard to future constitutional development, and then that, as an earnest of their sincerity in putting forward that announcement of constitutional development, they would state their readiness to take the first steps in that direction. This was at Christmas time in 1915. I came home from India in January, 1916, for six weeks before I went out again as Viceroy, and when I got home I found that there was a Committee in existence at the India Office, which was considering on what lines future constitutional development might take place. That Committee, before my return in the middle of March, gave me a pamphlet containing in broad outline the views which were held with regard to future constitutional development. When I reached India I showed this pamphlet to my Council and also to my noble friend Lord Meston, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. It contained what is now known as the diarchic principle.

In this connection it might interest your Lordships to know how the epithet "diarchic" first arose. At one of the first councils that I held on the subject, Sir William Meyer, a man of considerable erudition and very acute mind, when he heard the principles on which this proposal developed, as it appeared in the brochure, said that it reminded him of the division of central and imperial provinces under the early Roman Empire, which Mommsen called "diarchy." From that chance remark—it could only have been a chance remark, because I am sure that Sir William Meyer, if he had waited to think a little further, would have seen on reflection that there was no resemblance between the diarchy of Mommsen and the diarchy in our scheme—the word "diarchic" has spread as an epithet of prejudice in connection with the reforms which were instituted at that time. Since people very often wonder how the word came to be used, I think it may interest your Lordships to mention that fact.

Both the Council and Lord Meston, who was then Sir James Meston, reported adversely on the proposals for constitutional development contained in that pamphlet. We proceeded to consider a Despatch on different lines,

which were rather in the nature of an extension of the old Morley-Minto Reforms, but, as the then Secretary of State pointed out, our proposals failed to fix the enlarged Councils with responsibility. Mr. Chamberlain declared that a mere increase in numbers did not train Indian in self-government and did not advance its object unless, the Councils could at the same time be fixed with some definite powers and real responsibility for their action. Surely in that criticism of Mr. Chamberlain lies the basic principle of the announcement that was made in August, 1917. It is true that Mr. Montagu was the mouthpiece of that announcement, but it is common knowledge that the announcement in its substance had been framed before Mr. Montagu assumed office.

With that announcement the situation regarding the consideration of reforms changed at once. I immediately asked my Council to work on the principles embodied in that announcement. It is interesting to note that Mr. Montagu was doing the very same thing in London, and when we met in India, in November of that year, we found that both my Council and the India Office had arrived at substantially the same conclusion—namely, that if you were to carry out the announcement as pronounced by His Majesty's Government, embodying responsibility and advance by stages, the diarchic method must be employed. But Mr. Montagu and I were not content with this, and when we went round in India we were always interviewing deputations and leading men, whether Indians or Governors, and trying to get away from what is called diarchy. But when we brought the proposals of other people to the test of the announcement which was really our terms of reference, we always found ourselves back at the fact that we had to come to the diarchic method.

After long striving we found no way out and, of course, that method is embodied, as your Lordships know, in our Report. But I am sure that no one who reads our Report—I am afraid very few people have read it—can imagine for one moment that we put forward our proposals otherwise than on the basis that having sought all the alternative methods of carrying out the announcement of His Majesty's Government, we were driven back to the question of a Constitution on the lines embodied in what is called diarchy. And I would remind your Lordships that in that same Report which I read to your Lordships just now, the Committee presided over by Lord Selborne said this:—

"In the opinion of the Committee the plan proposed by the Bill is conceived wholly in this spirit, and interprets the pronouncement of the 28th August, 1917, with scrupulous accuracy. It partitions the domain of Provincial government into two fields, one of which is made over to Ministers chosen from the elected members of the Provincial Legislature while the other remains under the administration of a Governor-in-Council. This scheme has evoked apprehensions which are not unnatural in view of its novelty. But the Committee, after the most careful consideration of all suggested alternatives, are of opinion that it is the best way of giving effect to the spirit of the declared policy of His Majesty's Governments. Its critics forget that the announcement spoke of a substantial step in the direction of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government and not of the partial introduction of responsible government; and it is this distinction

which justifies the method by which the Bill imposes responsibility, both on Members to the Legislative Council and on the members of the Legislative Council to their constituents, for the results of that part of the administration which is transferred to their charge."

I hope I have made it clear that Mr. Montagu and I were conditioned by the terms of that announcement, and the Committee which is now going out will be equally conditioned by the terms of that announcement.

Of course when one reviews what has happened under the present reforms one has to remember two things. In the first place, that they were introduced under most unfavourable conditions—the atmosphere of the Punjab disturbances and of the non-co-operation movement, and then under the financial stringency of the Government of India, a financial stringency common to the whole world, but which prevented the Central Government from handing over to the Provincial Governments funds which would have enabled them to carry on the departments under their charge. I hope that my old friend Sir John Simon starts his Commission under happier auspices, and I only express my own delight that he was appointed. I can only hope that the Report or advice which that Commission will give when it reports will square with that announcement in the manner in which Mr. Montagu and I had to square our proposals in August, 1917. I may have been unfortunate in the attempt which I made to carry out the terms of that announcement. May Sir John Simon and his Commission be more fortunate. This is too big a matter to consider either personal or political bearings. I think the debate this afternoon clearly indicates that, and one can feel, after listening to that debate, that from all quarters goes out the hope that this Commission will be successful in their great enterprise.

THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD: My Lords, I do not think it necessary to add more than a word to the very remarkable debate which has taken place. Seldom indeed, can a discussion have been informed by more knowledge. There have been contributory to it a former Secretary of State for India, who was in office at a very troubled period in the history of India, and two Viceroys, each of whom was charged with special and grave responsibility during the period of his office; and I am greatly encouraged by the realisation that none of these three noble Lords has quarrelled with or challenged the broad decision of His Majesty's Government. Is it too much to hope that so remarkable a unanimity—for I exclude the minor points upon which some criticism has been expressed—is it too much to hope that so remarkable a unanimity—of opinion among men of such vastly different experience and so representative of every political thought in this country, may travel to India? May it so travel, and may it have the effect of persuading men of prominence and position in India that they would be rash in prematurely and perhaps irretrievably committing themselves to a course which perhaps, hereafter, will prove to be unwise and irreconcilable with their own ultimate interests. On this point Lord Olivier addressed a word of wise caution, which I venture to adopt from him, and to repeat. I have only to add that I am deeply grateful for the spirit which has prevailed in this debate, and for the successful contribution which, I am persuaded, it has made to the difficult situation in which we find ourselves.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at half-past seven o'clock

APPENDIX I (e).

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD: I rise in the name and on behalf of my colleagues to support the Resolution (Earl Winterton's resolution in similar terms to that moved by the Earl of Birkenhead in the House of Lords) which has just been moved. At the same time, we offer most sincerely some advice, which we hope may be accepted, in order to make the procedure more acceptable to the Indian people than it would be otherwise. I do regret that there has not been more consultation between the Government and representative Indians for the purpose of clearing away difficulties. If I might echo part of the debate of yesterday, I would say that I think in this respect the Government has repeated the mistake it made before it entered into the Geneva Naval Conference. I am sure that had Indian opinion and leading Indians who make as well as voice that opinion been possessed of the sympathetic ideas which the Under-Secretary of State has just enunciated, we might have been relieved of a good deal of criticism that has been passed upon the Government scheme. What this House has to do is to recognise quite frankly the widespread suspicion that exists in India, and I hope this debate will do much to remove that suspicion or at any rate a substantial part of it. If we could remove that suspicion I am convinced that it would be for the good of India as well as for the honour of ourselves. The first point dealt with by the Noble Lord was the question of the Royal Commission, an ordinary oldfashioned Royal Commission.

I stand before the House as one who has been a member of a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Indian affairs. I sat under the Presidency of Lord Islington for over two years. I went twice to India as a member of that Commission to inquire into the public services of India. I saw a good deal behind the scenes, and I took a somewhat active part in the negotiations that had to be undertaken in order to get the Report of that Commission anything like unanimous. The subject referred to us was a very large and important one, but nevertheless it had the great advantage of being confined and specific. It was a question of the public services of India, beginning with the Imperial Services, the Indian Civil Service and going on to that large group of provincial services, everyone of which presented a different problem but did not give rise to large fundamental and deep-seated political questions. I confess that my experience on that Commission convinced me that a Royal Commission to inquire into the Indian Constitution would not be an efficient body. If there was nothing else to be done we would have to appoint one, but I think it is the duty of the Government, as indeed it was our duty when we were a Government, to consider whether a better system of finding out what Indian opinion and Indian needs were, ought to be instituted. One of the great difficulties of a mixed commission, a Royal Commission, is the difficulty of selection. So far as the right hon. and hon. Friends who sit with me and belong to the same party as I do are concerned, we have never approached the problem relating to the constitution of a country,

we have never criticised the action of Governments of a country without keeping in our minds in the most prominent and important position the question of minorities. How minorities are dealt with, what the relations between majorities and minorities are, are fundamental and essential to the good government of any country. Therefore it would be absolutely impossible for us to support any Commission or any inquiry selected in any way conceivable, unless we had assurances that upon that Commission and that inquiry the needs of the minority were adequately secured. When we lay down that fundamental proposition, then for the purposes of discovering how it is to be satisfied we proceed to survey, not the minority, but the intricate and numerous sections of the minority in India. The Commission that would evolve from such a consideration would be so unwieldy that no Government could light-heartedly select it as its instrument for making an inquiry.

There is another consideration that follows from that. Without, of course, in any way suppressing or distorting opinion it is very desirable that when the inquiry is finished we should have a report that will really guide us. What is going to be the report we would get from a Royal Commission appointed in the same way as the Royal Commission of which I was a member some years ago? It is absolutely impossible to get a report from such a Commission. You will get reports, but then what happens is that you have your majority report and a whole series probably of minority reports. You will also have a series of reports that are signed, with various paragraphs in them asterisked, and footnotes, I should imagine amounting to a very considerable number, will be appended; and then this House, instead of getting guidance, and the Joint Parliamentary Committee that is to be set up as the second stage in this inquiry instead of having some sort of well-sifted and co-ordinated evidence and guidance, would itself have to regard the various sections of the Joint Committee as though they were so many witnesses. The reports of such a Committee or of such a Commission will not carry this House beyond the position of being a body listening to witnesses.

I would like the evidence, if it is at all possible, to be sifted in such a way that it could be co-ordinated and embodied into some sort of composite scheme that will, so far as human intelligence and human ingenuity can, meet the various points of view and present to us a common picture, a common photograph of the needs. That is not possible if this House appoints a Commission such as the one I have in my mind in making these remarks. It will give us a minimum of guidance instead of a maximum of guidance. It is perfectly true, as I think Lord Olivier said in another place yesterday, that when we were in office in 1924 this question was before us. We were never able to mature it or to produce a scheme; we were never able to say quite definitely "This is the way that we are going to approach it." But I can say this, that as a result of a variety of considerations, conversations and consultations, our minds had turned in the direction of using the Parliaments of the two countries as the inquiring body. We never went further than that, but that was the direction that we were beginning to explore as a result of a weeding out of various obvious proposals as to how the matter should be dealt with.

There is one thing I should like to say in this respect. If there is anything that representative democracy holds in high esteem it is the Parliament of its representatives. Parliaments are not exclusive bodies. They may have been, but those of us who believe in democracy, those of us who believe in an organised public opinion created for the purpose of making that opinion effective in administration and legislation, must, of necessity, hold Parliament as the highest expression of that public opinion in any country. When we support, as I do and my colleagues and party, the suggestion that the Parliament of this country as the representative and the custodian of the people of this country in all political and constitutional matters, should say to the Parliament of India, "We are going to regard you as the representative of Indian opinion. We are going to recognise you, having an authority like to our own, having a function and position like to our own in your country," and when we want to know what is going to be the constitution of India in the future, when we want to know what the opinion of political India is, even imagining India to be a political unity, when we turn to the Indian Parliament, we say to it "We appoint a Commission; you appoint a similar body, and the two Commissions working together in harmonious co-operation with each other are going to report to the House of Commons, what the line of the new constitution is to be, what the principles of the new constitution should be," then I say that, instead of insulting public opinion in India, instead of belittling the political intelligence of India, we are doing it the greatest homage that one Parliament can do to another, or one nation can ever do to another, with which it is in political relationship.

Our concern, therefore, having cleared those matters, is the relative status of the two bodies. That is what it comes down to—the relative status of the Commission which we are to send out to India, and the Committee or Commission, whatever name you like to call it by—in that respect I do not mind very much by what name you call it, because I am after substance and not baptismal certificates—the real problem that we have to solve and it is a problem which Indian public opinion rightly and properly insists that we should solve, is what is to be the relative status of the two sections of the inquiry that has to be set up. I think the Prime Minister's statement a few days ago was a little unfortunate in that respect. I think a good deal of the misunderstanding—I hope it will be misunderstanding after this Debate—that has arisen in India was owing, not to the spirit of intention of the statement, but owing to the form of the statement. I listened to that statement myself and I turned to my colleagues who sat by me and said, "That is a very unfortunate statement, if the Government mean to give any sort of recognition to a people who are very sensitive on points of self-respect." The impression which the right hon. Gentleman conveyed to me, and I am sorry to find it was the impression that Indians have taken up, as well as a great many people here, was that we were appointing a Commission to go out to India to meet a Committee appointed by the Indian Legislature and that the chief work of that Indian Committee was to prepare a report and hand it in writing to our representatives. The suggestion was that there was to be from the very beginning a marked relationship of inferiority between the two bodies.

Although nobody could resist the constitutional and historical survey of the position of the Indian Parliament which was made by the Under-Secretary, the less that aspect is emphasised the better. What should be emphasised, as one or two sentences which I was very glad to find in the Under-Secretary's statement do emphasise, is exactly the opposite, namely, that this Parliament here is sincerely determined that there should be no sense of inferiority and no relationship of inferiority imposed upon this Indian Commission, but that one Parliament is honestly and sincerely desirous of consulting another Parliament as to what is the best course to adopt. I am sorry, therefore, that this Debate did not take place earlier. I am sure if the Secretary of State had made some sort of statement earlier of a larger, more liberal, more generous character, much misunderstanding would have been removed. The Secretary of State yesterday made certain references, not to negotiations because they were not negotiations, but to consultations which he and I and some of my colleagues had over this matter. I want to say quite candidly and frankly, although we are in no way responsible for these proposals, that in the course of those conversations and those explorations as to the meaning and intention behind and below the verbal expressions that have been made the declarations made in this House and elsewhere, I found in Lord Birkenhead's mind a sincerity of desire to pursue a liberal policy, and to treat the representatives of the Indian Legislature in the openest and most friendly and most co-operative way. It is absolutely impossible to devise a formula to ensure this and make it clear to India. We have tried our hands at it and we have failed.

It is also impossible to produce a programme of operations. That also has been tried and the attempt has failed.

There are, however, one or two essential points, and I am sure if the Indians had an assurance upon them, it would remove a very large number of their objections and a very large part of their suspicion. I am glad that the first point which I have noticed as a result of those conversations has already been met by the Under-Secretary. We advised most strongly that if the wording used by the Prime Minister, in making his announcement, implied that the status between our Commission and the Indian Commission was to be the status between a Commission and the witness of a Commission, that impression ought to be removed at once. We must have no idea in our minds, and I hope the Commission when it goes out will not have a particle of an idea in its mind, that the representatives of the Indian Legislature are simply going to present a written report and temporarily wish "Good day", to our Commission, leaving our Commission to examine and discuss that report among themselves; that later our Commission will call back the Indian representatives to sit at the other side of a table and answer questions put to them for the purpose of illuminating their proposals. That is not our intention, I am perfectly certain, and it should be made clear that it is not our intention. I hope the intention is—and I am sure if this intention is not carried out, the Commission that we are going to appoint to-day will not be as successful as it could be if properly handled—to go to India, and to see at once our colleagues appointed by the Indian Legislature, to get their statements, to exchange views with them, to negotiate with them

—as a matter of fact to regard them just as honourable Members opposite sitting on a committee would regard hon. Members from this side of the House sitting on the same Committee, using their common experience and common intelligence and common ideas for the purpose of producing the very best report a committee can produce.

There is another point. In the examination of witnesses there are certain witnesses and certain evidence which our Commission must examine for themselves. Nobody who understands India would deny that that must be so, but, on the other hand, there must be a considerable number of witnesses—and I think, on the whole, the most important witnesses who will present evidence of a larger public character—regarding whom the case is different. Now in the examination of those witnesses, I would strongly urge our Commission to agree to have the Indian Commission sitting with them, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Spen Valley (Sir J. Simon) presiding over the joint sitting and the Indian representatives having exactly the same rights and privileges and status as the members of our own section. The adoption, wherever, it is possible, of the idea of joint sessions will, I think, remove a large amount of Indian suspicion, that being done in such a way as to secure to our Commissioners the absolute right, the previously announced right, so that there can be no dispute about it, of saying in respect to this, that, and the other witness or subject, "We are going to take evidence upon these matters ourselves." As a mater of fact, on the Royal Commission to which I have referred and of which I was a member, that idea—not quite in that form, as circumstances were not precisely the same, but that idea in so far as it was applicable to our duties—was pursued, and nobody ever offered the least objection to it.

There is a third point—and I am sorry that a rather foolish observation was made about it yesterday—the question of reports. That is a question that has been raised. Some people say that the Indian Commission could not make a report itself; others say that we ought to authorise it to make a report. My own position and that of my Friends is the good, sound, constitutional position. So far as this House is concerned, we cannot give the Commission of the Indian Legislature any right to make a report, nor, on the other hand, can we withhold from it the right to report. It is not our Commission. We are not responsible for it. It is not responsible to us. Therefore, what objection is there to our letting it be known at once that, so far as the Indian Commission is concerned, it can make a report if it likes and it can refrain from making a report if it likes? Its report will be made in the proper way to the body to which it owes its origin, and that body can deal then with that report with exactly the same freedom as we ourselves will deal with our report. I think that, if that position is quite clearly understood, another large block of suspicion will be removed, but as I say, we cannot possibly by a programme of allowances or disallowances, we cannot by a formula, lay down our intentions in that respect. What we have to fall back upon is that by every word we say here to-day, by every statement we make, and more particularly by the forms in which we choose to embody our ideas, we convey to the Indian people and to

the Indian Legislature that we are sending forth our Commission of Inquiry in the spirit of good fellowship and co-operation, in order, that it may get the facts and the opinions and the reflections of the best Indians, so that it may present to us the very best and most useful report that it can produce.

There is one other subject to which I will address myself before I sit down, and I do it because I think it is a subject about which this House and any Government in this country ought to have very clear ideas. The Under-Secretary of State referred to certain claims that were made, and one which he specified was this—I paraphrase him, and perhaps I make his point a little more absolute than he himself made it—that in dealing with people for whom we have been responsible in days gone by we have now reached that point in their evolution when the time has come for us as a Parliament and a nation to say to them, what many of us have had to say to our children who have grown up, "You are going out into the world; I have done my best for you whilst you were under my wing, and whilst I was responsible for you; and now, take the responsibilities of manhood upon yourselves, and God bless you in your future career." A nation like ours, that has taken upon itself the responsibility for peoples —primitive peoples, subject peoples, people who have fallen under our custodianship and trusteeship by accident, people whom we have brought there by force of arms—a nation like ours, in these democratic days when the spirit of nationality and self-independence has become so powerful in the world, must make up its mind again and again to put itself in the position of the parent who blesses his departing child; and how are we to do it? It is said in this respect that if we were wise, if we were enlightened, if we were liberal, if we had really good fellowship and goodwill, we would say to India, "Go, and go just as you like yourselves."

That is not good, that is not wise, that is not fulfilling the best service we can do to India, and, what is more, that is not guiding the destinies of a growing world aright. We must all have pursued the evolutionary line. I do not know how many Members of this House have read that very interesting book that at one time was very popular in India, that rather fantastic novel called "Anandamath," written by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, a book, I may say parenthetically, in which the "Bande Mataram" was first written. This is a book which deals with the wars of Warren Hastings and with the Hindu rebellions that rose up out of those wars. There, in the end, the hero says, "India, for its own sake, for its own good, must pass under English dominion, but a time will come when"— he is assured, as he retires from the field of activity into the monastery of contemplation—"the work of England will be finished and when once again India will step out with self-respect, holding its head in the air because it once more can govern itself."

When that time comes, the departure must be with the full cognisance and the full freedom and goodwill of this Parliament, and, therefore, at this moment when a new departure is taking place, it is not right, it is not the good moral way, it is not the way that goes furthest and leads to

the greatest good, for us simply, as it were, to throw India out of our doors. It is for us to say to India, "Come with us. You have got your Parliament, such as it is; you have got your self-government up to the point which it has reached; we are prepared now that another stage should come, and at that stage, at the threshold of that stage, you and we shall consult together, and you and we shall go out together with our full consent, and the completest blessing that we can give. I therefore urge the Government, urge the Commission—that has quite rightly got a large area of freedom in handling left to it and not prescribed by the Government—I beg the Government, and I beg the Commission to go out in the spirit in which I have been trying to address the House, to go out to remove Indian suspicion and to gain a complete co-operation; and with that prayer I hope the whole House will wish the Commission Godspeed in the great work on which it is about to enter.

APPENDIX I (f).

THE PRIME MINISTER (MR. BALDWIN): I, as every Member of this House, must welcome the tone of the Debate to-day and the general acceptance of the proposal which has marked the proceedings of that Debate. There have been only two or three voices raised against the proposal, and we are all very pleased to see the hon. Member for North Battersea (Mr. Saklatvala) back in his place. It is quite evident that during his absence he has made no speech against the Government of the country which he was visiting comparable to the one which he has delivered to-day, or we should most regretfully have had to do without his presence. When speaking of liberty, he must have lost for the moment his keen sense of humour. I felt that never had there been an exhibition more patent to this world of the height, depth, breadth and strength of British liberty than the sight of the hon. Member delivering that speech in the British House of Commons. There is only one word more that I want to say about liberty. When I want information about liberty in Russia I shall go to Trotsky, and not to the hon. Member.

I am afraid that, to a certain extent, at this stage of the Debate, I must repeat and re-emphasise some things that have been said already, but I think they should be presented clearly to this House in the last speech made on the subject of the appointment of the Commission. What has been criticised in this House has been less the Commission itself than the form of the Commission—the form in which the Government intentions were stated. For that we have been blamed. In India, where the misunderstanding was greater, and, I think, was genuinely greater, the Viceroy's announcement gave a full statement of the policy embodied in the procedure, and if that procedure in that statement was not reduced into more close and definite terms, the very reason of that was the reason indicated by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, which is, the necessity of leaving the Commission itself as free a hand as possible until they arrived on the spot. Therefore, we are only giving the framework, and within that framework the Commission are left free. They can pursue as many of the lines of procedure, which have been suggested to-day, as seem to them on consideration wise and practicable, only providing that such procedure is within the framework and does not prejudice the responsibility, and the ultimate responsibility, of this Parliament.

I do not know whether it is necessary to say this, but I think perhaps, after some observations which have been made in this House, it may be as well that I should say this: Let Indians dismiss from their minds any thought of inferiority. They will be approached as friends and as equals, but the responsibility of Parliament remains, and no procedure which suggests that that responsibility can be formally shared with representatives of another Parliament will really advance the inquiry. But, subject only to that proviso, we can, and do, identify ourselves with the closing words of the Leader of the Opposition. That there should have been any misunderstanding is particularly regrettable, because it has led to premature rejection of the proposals by distinguished statesmen in India

who have worked and co-operated with the Government during some very difficult years since the reforms first came into force.

We regard the scheme as the most effective means of satisfying the proper ambition of such men to take part in the settlement of the constitutional future of India, and I take this opportunity of assuring them that His Majesty's Government earnestly desire that their opinion, and the opinion of every man of goodwill, Indian or British, who has anything to contribute to the very difficult problem of India's future, shall be accessible to the Commission and shall be given the fullest weight in their conclusions. The Debate has shown the extreme difficulty of the preliminary question of deciding how best the great problem could be brought into focus for the decision of Parliament. At the risk of repetition, I desire to remind the House that procedure by investigating Commission is imposed upon us by Act of Parliament, and, so far as we are concerned, any other method is out of court. The Act imposes a great duty upon us. In order to discharge that duty we have a duty to ourselves, and we must inform ourselves of the facts before attempting to come to a decision. There must be few Members who took part in the reforms in Parliament in 1909 who fully realise all that was implied in that Act and the responsibility that would lie in later years on Parliament. On the present occasion, it is more than ever our duty to make sure that Parliament, and every party in Parliament, shall have first-hand knowledge from its representatives of the weighty matters that it is going to decide when the time comes.

I lay stress on one part of the scheme on which not very much has been said to-day. When the Commission has reported, but before Parliament is committed in any way to its recommendations or to the Government view upon them, we contemplate that the main questions for settlement shall be referred to a Joint Committee of Parliament, and that the Indian Legislature shall have an opportunity, by means of delegations, of examining the proposals and of discussing them thoroughly with this Joint Committee. The Secretary of State for India, in a speech in another place, said:

"The Indian people will in this way be given an opportunity of taking part in the framing of their Constitution which has never been given in the whole of history to any peoples in a similar position."

This in itself completely refutes the suggestion that the scheme belittles the right and the capacity of Indian statesmen to contribute to the solution of the great question at issue. The Commission has been chosen, as to part of it, from members who share in our daily work. On this point, I do not think that I can do better than read to the House the brief statement made by my right hon. and learned Friend who is going to be chairman of this body, a statement which has already appeared in the Press, but which, I think, is worth reading to the House of Commons. In a letter to his constituents, he said:—

"The British Parliament has a tremendous responsibility to the peoples of India. It is a responsibility which cannot be denied or evaded, for it is rooted in history and in the facts of the world to-day. If, therefore,

the future of India is to be one of peaceful progress—as all men of good will, both in India and in Britain, intensely desire—this can come about only by the action of the British Parliament combined with the co-operation of India itself. Both these are provided for by the scheme of investigation and consultation, of which the work of the Commission is the first stage. The Commission does not go to India, with any idea of imposing Western ideas or constitutional forms from without; we go to listen, to learn, and faithfully to report our conclusions as to actual conditions and varying proposals from within. When the Commission has reported, the scheme provides for that full and final consultation between representatives of the Legislatures of India and Britain which is the essential condition which should be fulfilled before reaching the decision on which so much depends."

I would call your attention to these last words:

"The task of the Commission calls for the highest qualities of sympathy and imagination, as well as for endless patience, strict impartiality, industry and courage. I enter upon my part in this duty intensely desiring to be of what service I can to India and to Britain, and, while I am deeply conscious of my own shortcomings, I am going to do my best."

That is the spirit in which this task is being undertaken, and perhaps it makes the best preface to the brief reply I must give to the two or three questions which have been asked. The hon. Member for West Leicester (Mr. Pethick-Lawrence) wished to know, "Is it possible under the Government scheme for persons not members of the Indian Legislature to be included in the Committee to meet the Commission, by co-optation or otherwise?" The answer to that is that we have no intention of dictating to the Indian Assembly how they should do their own business. Whatever is within their power, whatever they can do by their own Standing Orders, or, if they think fit, by altering those Standing Orders, they are at liberty to do it. Then there was the question as to whether women would be included among the expert advisers. I think I can leave that question with the words of the right hon. and learned Member for Spen Valley (Sir J. Simon) in our ears at this moment. They have complete freedom to take the best means which they consider possible to attain their ends. The first answer I have given really answers the question put to me by the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley (Mr. Lansbury) who has just spoken. I cannot say what the first proceedings of the Commission will be in India, how soon the Indian Legislature will have appointed their Committee, and whether it will be there when the Commission first arrives, nor can I say what steps they will take because they are perfectly free to make their own arrangements.

I will only say this, in conclusion. When I began I said that I thought the tone of the House realised the gravity of the matter which we had in hand. It is indeed an unprecedented path that we are walking upon. No similar path has ever been explored by any Government or any body of men before. I rely, as I am sure all of us do in all parts of the House, for success to be achieved, on that instinctive sense of justice which is planted deep in the hearts of every Briton. The Leader of the Oppo-

sition spoke quite truly of the way in which we do our work on Parliamentary Committees when we are removed from the immediate controversial arena. The Englishman, the Briton owing to his training, his character, his history has one rare gift—and I do not always praise ourselves—he has that rare gift that when he finds himself acting in a judicial capacity he can bring an unbiased mind to the discharge of his duties, and dissociate himself from all the external paraphernalia of controversy, in which we take so much delight on the Floor of this Chamber. I have faith that this Commission chosen from typical Members among ourselves will discharge its duties with that high courage and sense of responsibility which we look for when our countrymen are showing what they are capable of. It was Milton who said many years ago in very strenuous days:

"When God wants a hard thing done, he tells it to his Englishmen."

No harder thing has ever been told to Englishmen than has been told to us in this matter. But we shall do it with courage, with faith, with strength, and with hope.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

"That this House concerns in the submission to His Majesty of the names of the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox, and Major Attlee to act as a Commission for the purposes of Section 84A of the Government of India Act."

APPENDIX I (g).

Letter from the Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General.

INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION.

NEW DELHI,

6th February 1928.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

In your speech to the Central Legislature on Thursday you laid renewed emphasis on the "full discretion as to methods" which has from the beginning been left in the hands of the Indian Statutory Commission; and I myself, as Chairman, on landing in India next day, authorised the issue of a statement on behalf of the Commission, that it hoped without delay to announce the line of procedure which it would propose to follow. Evidence accumulates that throughout India there is much uncertainty as to the manner in which we may be expected to exercise our functions, and even considerable misunderstanding as to what we conceive those functions to be; while—amidst many messages of welcome and encouragement—we note that speeches are being made and resolutions passed which are based on a complete, though doubtless genuine, misconception of our intentions. It is my plain duty, therefore, as Chairman to set out forthwith the true position as we regard it, and, since on this preliminary visit there is not likely to be any formal sitting of the Commission when the statement could be made, I venture to address this letter to your Excellency.

We understand that the Government of India and the Local Governments have been engaged for some time past in preparing the material which they might put before the Commission. We have not seen these documents and do not know how far they may consist of matters of fact and how far of matters of opinion, or whether they deal with past events or with suggestions for the future. But whatever they are, instead of dealing with them by ourselves, we wish to propose that they, and the evidence given in explanation or amplification of them, should come before a "Joint Free Conference", over which I should preside, consisting of the seven British Commissioners and a corresponding body of representatives chosen by the Indian Legislatures (just as we ourselves have been chosen by the British Parliament).

We put forward the plan of a "Joint Free Conference" not only because we should welcome the assistance of colleagues from the Indian Legislatures, but because we think it is only right and fair, and in the truest interests of India and Britain alike, that opportunity should be provided for such memoranda and testimony to be scrutinized and, if necessary, elucidated from the Indian side on free and equal terms. We suggest therefore that the two Houses of the Central Legislature should in due course be invited to choose from their non-official members a Joint Committee, which might conveniently be seven in number, and that each

Local Legislative Council should be asked to constitute a similar body. The Indian side of the Conference would consist, when Central subjects were being dealt with, of those first named; in a Province, the Indian wing would primarily consist of the Provincial members, but, in order that the Central Joint Committee may not have a partial view of the material put before it, we should be glad if arrangements could be arrived at which would enable its members, or some of them, to be present as an additional element at provincial sittings.

We have no wish to dictate the composition of the Indian wing of the Conference in more detail, and we should greatly prefer that the precise scheme should be reached by agreement between the different elements in India concerned. Our main object will be met so long as the arrangement is one which secures that the Indian side of the Joint Conference includes, on appropriate occasions, those who are able to speak for the Provincial Councils just as the Joint Committee would speak for the Central Legislature, and so long as the members representing India sitting with us do not amount to an unwieldy number. We assume of course that, just as we ourselves are a body selected from all British parties and both Houses of Parliament, so our Indian counterpart would be, so far as may be, truly representative.

Two matters remain to be dealt with—the question of evidence other than that above referred to, and the question of Report. I wish to deal candidly and clearly with both.

Some of us have had considerable experience of the method of Joint Conference as applied both to industrial and political questions, and it is quite clear to us that each side of the Conference will require, from time to time, to meet by itself. We see no reason, however, why evidence from public and representative bodies, and from individuals, should not normally be given to the Conference as a whole, just as evidence presented by or on behalf of the various Governments would be. If a case arises when this general plan cannot be followed, I should make no secret of it, and should ask my colleagues in the Joint Free Conference, when, as I hope, they learn to have faith in my sense of fairness, to accept from me such account of the matter as I can give them on behalf of the Commission, with due regard to the reason why the testimony has been separately received. I imagine that the Indian side may find occasions when they would think it well to act in the same way.

As regards the Report, it is, I feel, necessary to restate the true function of the Commission and its place in the general scheme which you announced last November. The Commission is in no sense an instrument either of the Government of India or of the British Government, but enters on the duty laid upon it by the King Emperor as a completely independent and unfettered body composed of Members of Parliament who approach Indian legislators as colleagues. It is not an executive or legislating body, authorised to pronounce decisions about the future government of India. Before these decisions can be reached, the full process, of which the present investigation is a first step, must be completed, including the opportunity for the views of the Indian Legislature, amongst other bodies, being presented by delegations in London to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

The present Commission is only authorised to report and make recommendations, and in this Report we desire to include a faithful account of the opinions and aspirations prevalent in India, and of the concrete proposals for constitutional reform so far as these are put before us. The British Commissioners, therefore, are bound to be solely responsible for the statement of the effect upon their own minds of the investigation as a whole. We shall report to the authority by which we have been constituted just as (if the Conference is set up) the Joint Committee would, we presume, be entitled to report its conclusions to the Central Legislature. It is obvious that those documents should be prepared and presented simultaneously. There are well known constitutional means by which the document emanating from the Joint Committee and presented to the Central Legislature can be forwarded to and made available for the British Parliament. But, if the Indian Joint Committee would prefer it, we would make its Report an annexe to our own document, so that both might be presented to the King Emperor, and made public, at the same moment.

Above all, I would urge that one of the merits of the method of Joint Conference is that, besides securing due recognition of equal status, it provides the opportunity for that free exchange of views and mutual influence which are best calculated to promote the largest measure of agreement that is possible.

Our present visit is preliminary and the sittings of the Joint Free Conference, if it is set up, would not begin till October. But we make public our suggestions at once, not only in order to clear the air, but in order to show ourselves available for any conference about any matters of procedure which this statement does not adequately cover.

The Commission is, of course, bound to carry through its task in any event and discharge to the full the duty cast upon it, but we are undertaking this duty only after having made it known that the method of collaboration on honourable and equal terms is open, and that we put it forward in all sincerity and good will. We will only add that in making these proposals we are confident that we are correctly interpreting the intentions of the British Parliament.

The carrying out of our proposals will require, at a later date, that the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, and the Local Legislative Councils should be moved to elect their representatives who would take part in the Joint Conference, and the Commission will be glad if the Government of India will take such steps as seem appropriate for this purpose in due course.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

(Sd.) JOHN SIMON.

His Excellency

The Viceroy and Governor General.

APPENDIX II.

The National Demand.

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly while confirming and reiterating the demand contained in the Resolution passed by it on the 18th February 1924, recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take immediate steps to move His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in Parliament embodying the following fundamental changes in the present constitutional machinery and administration of India:

(*a*) The Revenues of India and all property vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in His Majesty under the Government of India Act, 1858, or the present Act or received by the Secretary of State in Council under any of the said Acts shall hereafter vest in the Governor General in Council for the purposes of the Government of India.

(*b*) The Governor General in Council shall be responsible to the Indian Legislature and subject to such responsibility shall have the power to control the expenditure of the Revenues of India and make such grants and appropriations of any part of those Revenues or of any other property as is at present under the control or disposal of the Secretary of State for India in Council, save and except the following which shall for a fixed term of years remain under the control of the Secretary of State for India:

(*i*) Expenditure on the Military Services up to a fixed limit.

(*ii*) Expenditure classed as political and foreign.

(*iii*) The payment of all debts and liabilities hitherto lawfully contracted and incurred by the Secretary of State for India in Council on account of the Government of India.

(*c*) The Council of the Secretary of State for India shall be abolished and the position and functions of the Secretary of State for India shall be assimilated to those of the Secretary of State for the self-governing Dominions save as otherwise provided in clause (*b*).

(*d*) The Indian Army shall be nationalised within a reasonably short and definite period of time and Indians shall be admitted for service in all arms of defence and for that purpose, the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief shall be assisted by a Minister responsible to the Assembly.

(*e*) The Central and Provincial Legislatures shall consist entirely of members elected by constituencies formed on as wide a franchise as possible.

(*f*) The principle of responsibility to the Legislature shall be introduced in all branches of the administration of the Central

Government subject to transitional reservations and residuary powers in the Governor General in respect of the control of Military and Foreign and Political affairs for a fixed term of years:

Provided that during the said fixed term the proposals of the Governor General in Council for the appropriation of any revenue or moneys for military or other expenditure classified as 'Defence' shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislature; but that the Governor General in Council shall have power, notwithstanding the vote of the Assembly, to appropriate up to a fixed maximum any sum he may consider necessary for such expenditure and in the event of a war to authorise such expenditure as may be considered necessary exceeding the maximum so fixed.

(*g*) The present system of Dyarchy in the Provinces shall be abolished and replaced by Unitary and Autonomous Responsible Governments subject to the general control and residuary powers of the Central Government in inter-provincial and all-India matters.

(*h*) The Indian Legislature shall, after the expiry of the fixed term of years referred to in clauses (*b*) and (*f*), have full powers to make much amendments in the constitution of India from time to time as may appear to it necessary or desirable.

This Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council that necessary steps be taken:

(*a*) to constitute in consultation with the Legislative Assembly a convention, round table conference or other suitable agency adequately representative of all Indian, European and Anglo-Indian interests to frame with due regard to the interests of minorities a detailed scheme based on the above principles, after making such inquiry as may be necessary in this behalf;

(*b*) to place the said scheme for approval before the Legislative Assembly and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.' "

APPENDIX III.

Representative Family and Singlemen's Budgets.

Representative Family and Singlemen's Budgets for :—(1)—Weavers in Cotton Mills, (2)—Spinners in Cotton Mills, (3) —Dock Labourers, (4)—Fitters in Engineering Industries, (5)—Municipal Scavengers.

(Based on enquiries made between May 1921 and April 1922 and constructed after analysis of 3,076 individual actual budgets).

	Weavers on Incomes of						Spinners on Incomes of					
	Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.		Rs. 50 and below Rs. 60.		Rs. 60 and below Rs. 70.		Rs. 30 and below Rs. 40.		Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.		Rs. 50 and below Rs. 60.	
	Amount.	Percentage of each item of expenditure to total expenditure.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.
FAMILY BUDGET.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	
Monthly income	45 0 0	...	53 0 0	...	63 0 0	...	35 0 0	...	43 8 0	...	53 0 0	...
" expenditure on :—												
Food	24 5 6	56·6	26 0 6	54·3	26 14 3	53·0	20 14 0	59·3	24 3 0	57·3	25 6 9	55·8
Fuel and lighting	3 9 0	8·3	3 14 0	8·1	4 0 0	7·9	2 15 0	8·4	3 6 0	8·0	3 8 0	7·7
Clothing	4 6 0	10·2	4 8 0	9·4	4 14 0	9·6	3 3 0	9·1	4 0 0	9·5	4 0 0	8·8
House-rent	4 0 0	9·3	4 8 0	9·4	4 12 0	9·4	3 8 0	9·9	4 0 0	9·5	4 0 0	8·8
Conventional luxuries	4 6 0	10·2	5 8 0	11·5	5 12 0	11·3	3 6 0	9·6	4 8 0	10·6	5 4 0	11·5
Interest on debts	0 5 0	0·7	0 12 0	1·6	0 15 0	1·9	...	...	0 8 0	1·2	...	...
Other items	2 0 0	4·7	2 12 0	5·7	3 8 0	6·9	1 5 0	3·7	1 10 0	3·9	3 6 0	7·4
Total monthly expenditure	42 15 6	100·0	47 14 6	100·0	50 11 3	100·0	35 3 0	100·0	43 3 0	100·0	45 8 9	100·0
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	2 0 6	...	5 1 6	...	12 4 9	...	—0 3 0	...	1 5 0	...	7 7 3	...
SINGLE MAN'S BUDGET.												
Monthly income	42 8 0	...	52 0 0	...	...	...	32 8 0	...	43 0 0	...	...	...
" expenditure on :—												
Food	15 12 0	51·7	16 8 0	50·7	...	...	15 0 0	60·6	16 0 0	52·4	...	...
Lighting	0 8 0	1·6	0 8 0	1·5	...	...	...	..	0 2 0	0·4	...	...
Clothing	2 8 0	8·2	2 9 0	7·9	...	...	1 12 0	7·1	1 14 8	6·3	...	...
House-rent	2 12 0	9·0	3 0 0	9·2	...	...	1 8 0	6·1	1 8 0	4·9	...	...
Conventional luxuries	5 8 0	18·0	7 0 0	21·5	...	...	4 8 0	18·2	7 0 0	22·9	...	...
Interest on debts	2 0 0	6·6	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	4·0	1 8 0	4·9	...	...
Other items	1 8 0	4·9	3 0 0	9·2	...	...	1 0 0	4·0	2 8 0	8·2	...	...
Total monthly expenditure	30 8 0	100·0	32 9 0	100·0	...	...	24 12 0	100·0	30 8 8	100·0	...	...
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	12 0 0	...	19 7 0	...	...	...	7 12 0	...	12 7 4	...	...	...

	Dock Labourers on Incomes of				Fitters on Incomes of				Municipal Scavengers on Incomes of	
	Rs. 30 and below Rs. 40.		Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.		Rs. 50 and below Rs. 60.		Rs. 60 and below Rs. 70.		Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.	
	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.
FAMILY BUDGET.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	
Monthly income	35 0 0	...	44 0 0	.	52 8 0	...	62 0 0	...	43 0 0	...
" expenditure on :—										
Food	23 14 6	61·5	26 7 6	60·3	28 2 0	56·1	31 9 6	55·6	22 7 0	56·5
Fuel and lighting	2 7 0	6·5	3 2 0	7·1	4 0 0	8·0	4 4 0	7·5	3 1 0	7·7
Clothing	3 4 0	8·7	3 8 0	8·0	5 8 0	11·0	5 8 0	9·7	4 0 0	10·1
House-rent	2 12 0	7·4	2 12 0	6·2	4 8 0	8·9	4 8 0	7·9	0 13 0	2·1
Common luxuries	3 12 0	10·0	5 6 0	12·2	4 8 0	9·0	5 0 0	8·8	5 0 0	12·6
Interest on debts	1 0 0	2·7	1 0 0	2·3	1 8 0	3·0	2 0 0	3·5	2 8 0	6·3
Other items	1 3 0	3·2	1 12 0	4·0	2 0 0	4·0	4 0 0	7·0	1 14 0	4·7
Total monthly expenditure	37 4 6	100·0	43 15 6	100·0	50 2 0	100·0	56 13 6	100·0	39 11 0	100·0
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	−2 4 6	...	0 0 6	...	2 6 0	...	5 2 6	...	2 5 0	...
SINGLE MAN'S BUDGET.										
Monthly income	35 0 0	...	42 0 0	...	......	...	62 0 0	...	(a) 23 0 0	...
" expenditure on :—										
Food	16 8 0	62·5	17 0 0	56·7	......	...	20 0 0	51·0	11 8 0	56·4
Lighting	......	...	......	...	......	...	0 8 0	1·3	......	...
Clothing	1 14 0	7·1	2 0 0	6·7	......	...	2 3 4	5·6	1 12 3	8·7
House-rent	1 0 0	3·8	1 0 0	3·3	......	...	3 0 0	7·7	0 8 0	2·4
Common luxuries	5 0 0	19·0	6 8 0	21·7	......	...	9 0 0	22·9	5 8 0	27·0
Interest on debts	1 0 0	3·8	1 8 0	5·0	......	...	......	...	0 12 0	3·7
Other items	1 0 0	3·8	2 0 0	6·6	......	...	4 8 0	11·5	0 6 0	1·8
Total monthly expenditure	26 6 0	100·0	30 0 0	100·0	......	...	39 3 4	100·0	20 6 3	100·0
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	8 10 0	...	12 0 0	...	......	...	22 12 8	...	2 9 9	...

(a) Income below Rs. 30.

APPENDIX IV.

INDIA'S PARLIAMENT.

Election of November, 1926.

Upper Chamber.
(Council of State.)
Five-year term.

President: Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith (Nominated by Viceroy).

Representation.	
Elected	34
Nominated	26
(Officials—18, others—8.)	
Total	60

Date of next elections uncertain, as in 1928 a statutory commission, headed by Sir John Simon, will reconsider Indian Constitution.

Lower Chamber.
(Legislative Assembly.)
Three-year Term.

President: V. J. Patel (Swarajist).

Parties.	Representation.
Swarajist	40
Nationalist	20
Muslim centre party and non-party	17
Independents	16
Europeans	10
Nominated	41
(Official—26, others—15.)	
Total	144

Party Programmes and Leaders.

The parties of India fall naturally into two main classes, those which support the Government and those which do not. Their important differences lie in the methods which they advocate in obstructing or in sustaining the constituted authorities.

Swarajist: The Swarajists are opposed to the present constitution. They question the right of Parliament to determine further stages of advance, and desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule by obstructing to such an extent as to make the working of the present constitution impossible.

Leaders: Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Srinivasa Iyengar.

Nationalist Party: The Nationalists regard Dyarchy as unworkable but their policy is not total support of the Government. They desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule as early as possible but only by constitutional means.

Leaders: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai.

Non-Party: As the name signifies these members have not formed any particular party and vote on each matter as they like—sometimes with and sometimes against the Government.

Independents: The Independents desire progress but they do not believe in consistent obstruction. Sometimes they support the Government, sometimes they oppose it.

Leader: M. A. Jinnah.

Europeans: The Europeans believe in steady orderly progress and generally support the Government.

Leader: Sir D'Arcy Lindsay.

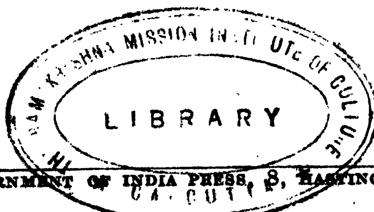
NOMINATED: The nominated members have no definite programme. They are nominated to secure the representation of particular interests. The officials naturally support the Government. Though the majority of the others support the Government, on certain questions some of them take up an independent line of their own and vote with one of the popular parties.

Leader: Sir Basil Blackett (Leader of the House, Finance Member of Council).

MUSLIM PARTY: The Muslim Centre Party is conservative in outlook and is pledged to national progress to Home Rule which shall include full safeguards for the existing rights and privileges of the Muslim community and reasonable opportunity for their continued development in the future.

INDEX.

S



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, 8, HASTINGS STREET.

EUROPE.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA, 42, GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S. W. 1.
And at all Booksellers.

INDIA AND CEYLON : Provincial Book Depots.

MADRAS:—Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road, Madras.
BOMBAY:—Superintendent, Government Book Depot, Town Hall, Bombay.
SIND:—Library attached to the Office of the Commissioner in Sind, Karachi.
BENGAL:—Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Writers' Buildings, Room No. 1, Ground Floor, Calcutta.
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.—Superintendent of Government Press, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad.
PUNJAB:—Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore.
BURMA:—Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon.
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR:—Superintendent, Government Printing, Central Provinces, Nagpur.
ASSAM:—Superintendent, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong.
BIHAR AND ORISSA:—Superintendent, Government Printing Bihar and Orissa, P. O. Gulzarbagh, Patna.
COORG:—Office of the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, Bangalore.
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE:—Manager, Government Printing and Stationery, Peshawar.

Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla.
W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta.
S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
The Indian School Supply Depot, 309, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.
Butterworth & Co., (India), Ltd., Calcutta.
Rai M. C. Sarcar Bahadur & Sons, 90-2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
Standard Literature Company, Limited, Calcutta.
Association Press, Calcutta.
Chukervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 13, College Square, Calcutta.
The Book Company, Calcutta.
James Murray & Co., 12, Government Place, Calcutta. (For Meteorological Publications only).
Ray Chaudhury & Co., 68-5, Ashutosh Mukerji Road, Calcutta.
The Oriental Publishing House, 34, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
Scientific Publishing Co., 9, Taltola Lane, Calcutta.
Chatterjee & Co., 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
B.C. Basak, Esq., Proprietor, Albert Library, Dacca.
Mitra Brothers, Rajshahi.
Higginbothams, Madras.
P. R. Rama Iyer & Co., Madras.
Rochouse and Sons, Madras.
G. A. Nateson & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.
Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
Bright & Co., Trivandrum.
The Booklover's Resort, Taikad, Trivandrum, South India.
E. M. Gopalakrishna Kone, Pudumandapam, Madura.
Vijapur & Co., Vizagapatam.
Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay.
Sunder Pandurang, Bombay.
Ram Chandra Govind & Sons, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
New and Secondhand Bookshop, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
Mrs. Radhabia Atmaram Sagoon, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay.
Proprietor, New Kitabkhana, Poona.
The Manager, Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona City.
Rama Krishna Bros., Opposite Vishrambag, Poona City.
S. P. Bookstall 21 Budhwar, Poona.
Mangaldas & Sons, Booksellers and Publishers, Bhaga Talao, Surat.
The Standard Book and Stationery Co., 32-33, Arbab Road, Peshawar.
R. B. Umadikar & Co., The Bharat Book [illegible], Dharwar.
The Standard Bookstall, Karachi, Quetta, Delhi, Murree and Rawalpindi.
The Karachi Book Depot, Elphinstone Street, Camp, Karachi.
The English Bookstall, Karachi.
The Standard Bookstall, Quetta.
U. P. Malhotra & Co., Quetta.
J. Ray & Sons, 43, K. & L., Edwardes Road, Rawalpindi and Murree.
The Standard Book Depot, Lahore, Nainital, Mussoorie, Dahousie, Ambala Cantonment and Delhi.
N. B. Mathur, Supdt., Nazir Kanun Hind Press, Allahabad.
The North India Christian Tract and Book Society, 18, Clive Road, Allahabad.
Ram Dayal Agarwala, 184, Katra, Allahabad.
The Indian Army Book Depot, Juhi, Cawnpore.
The Indian Army Book Depot, Jullundur City.
Manager, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Literature Palace, Ammuddaula Park, Lucknow.
Rai Sahib M Gulab Singh & Sons, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore and Allahabad.
Rama Krishna & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali Lahore.
Puri Brothers, Booksellers and Publishers, Katcheri Road, Lahore.
The Tilak School Bookshop, Lahore.
The Standard Bookstall, Lahore.
The Proprietor, Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot Saidmitha Street, Lahore.
The Insurance Publicity Co., Ltd., Lahore.
The Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore.
Manager of the Imperial Book Depot, 63, Chandni Chowk Street, Delhi.
Fono Book Agency, New Delhi.
Oxford Book and Stationery Company, Delhi.
Supdt., American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon.
The Modern Publishing House, Ltd., 30, Phayre Street, Rangoon.
Burma Book Club, Ltd., Rangoon.
Manager, The "Hitavada," Nagpur.
Bhisey Brothers, Booksellers and Stationers. Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
S. C. Talukdar, Proprietor, Students & Co., Cooch Behar.
The Manager, Ceylon Observer, Colombo.
The Manager, The Indian Book Shop, Benares City.
The Srivilliputtur Co-operative Trading Union, Ltd., Srivilliputtur (S. I. R.)
Raghunath Prasad & Sons, Patna City.
The Students' Emporium, Patna.
K. L. Mathur & Bros., Guzri, Patna City.
Dandekar Brothers, Indore City.
Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari, Ltd., Baroda.
The Hyderabad Book Depot, Chaderghat, Hyderabad (Deccan).





